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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

ISRAEL

PART 3

January to December 1951

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ISRAEL—PART 3

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

ER 1013/1

No. 1

MONTHLY REPORT ON ISRAEL FOR DECEMBER 1950

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th January)(No. 8. Confidential) *Tel Aviv, 8th January, 1951.*

I have the honour to enclose a General Report on Israel for December 1950.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jeddah, Jerusalem and Karachi, and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

A. K. HELM.

Enclosure in No. 1

Monthly Report on Israel for December 1950

General

The most notable development of December was a growing movement in its second half in favour of further rapprochement with Britain, as the only Great Power really concerned with the security of the Middle East.

2. Relations with Jordan reached a low ebb at the beginning of the month, but afterwards became calmer. At present the Israel Government are going slow, waiting to see whether the new Jordan Government will show any disposition to come to terms.

3. Domestic politics were relatively quiet, with the economic situation continuing to cause concern. A slight improvement in public confidence was rudely offset by new fears of a world war. The protracted haggling over the selection of new Mayors in the chief towns introduced an element of the ridiculous.

Foreign Affairs

4. While the General Assembly remained in session, public hopes remained high that the Korean issue might find a speedy settlement, and much interest was taken in the part played by the Israel delegation in New York in promoting the idea of mediation.

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But when the Assembly adjourned without any mitigation of Chinese intervention in Korea, a movement revealed itself in the press in favour of closer strategic association with the West, and in particular with Britain. The resultant of many different forces, the movement was mainly derived from a growing fear of a new World War, a realisation of Israel's economic inability to stand alone in a world at war, a bitter antipathy to "MacArthurism," and a belief that the growing influence of the pro-MacArthur Republicans in the United States would withdraw American support at least from the Middle East, if not from Europe as well. Despite belated and unofficial denials that there was any change in the Israel Government's policy of non-identification with East or West, it seems unlikely that the kite-flying did not owe something to official inspiration.

5. A possible straw in the wind, early in the month, was the resignation of the Israel Minister at Warsaw and two diplomatic members of his staff. Mr. Barzilai is a member of the Mapam Party, which is said to have ordered his resignation.

6. Another demonstration of the Government's attitude was provoked by the Communists who, with Mapam, staged protests in the Knesset and in public meetings against the proposed rearming of Western Germany—a matter on which Jewish emotions are more than ordinarily sensitive. The Mapam Party denounced the left-wing manoeuvres as Cominform partisanship, while the Prime Minister refused to consider any motion that did not equally condemn the rearmament of the Soviet Zone.

7. The resolution of the General Assembly on Palestine and the failure to take action on the Holy Places came as something of a disappointment to Israel, though in neither case is the *status quo* thought to be changed. Israel abstained from voting on the Four-Power Resolution on Palestine, after the Foreign Minister had

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emphasised that there could be no return of Arab refugees, and voted against the Belgian resolution on the Holy Places.

8. Relations between Israel and Jordan reached their lowest point for many months on 3rd December, when a skirmish occurred on the disputed section of the Beersheba-Elath road (see paragraph 9 of my Report for November). The Jordan Government had previously asked for suspension of action on their complaint on this subject to the Mixed Armistice Commission. Subsequent negotiations in the Commission led to a ruling that Jordan had violated the Armistice Agreement by using force to block the road; no agreement was reached as to who fired first, and it was decided that a mixed survey party should survey the road and the frontier on the spot, in order to decide whether there had been trespass on Jordan territory. The survey party returned without completing its task, because (the Israelis allege) it became clear that the frontier as legally defined should run at that point some distance to the east of the line marked on the map.

9. The skirmish precipitated the resignation of the Jordan Government, and its replacement by one headed by Samir Pasha Rifai. The Israel Government were uncertain what attitude to adopt towards the new Government, but, on finding that Samir Rifai was not prepared for a radical change of policy, seem to have decided to "wait and see," not abandoning their uncompromising attitude towards Jordan, but displaying readiness to be conciliatory if the occasion should arise.

10. Perhaps as a result of the slightly improved atmosphere resulting from the governmental change in Jordan, the delayed November convoy went through to Mount Scopus on 7th December. But no meeting of the Special Committee was held during the month.

11. Happily the poor relations between Jordan and Israel did not interfere with relations for Christians in Israel (mainly members of the Diplomatic Corps, but also some Arabs) to visit Bethlehem on Christmas Eve. The occasion was helped by lovely weather and brilliant moonlight and everything seems to have gone smoothly.

12. Relations with the United Kingdom were strengthened by mutual visits. Six members of the Histadrut went to the United Kingdom as guests of the Trade Union Congress: their doings were warmly reported in the local press. The Prime Minister spent a short holiday in England. This led to an

outburst of foolish speculation in the press, but the complete freedom from official contacts which Mr. Ben Gurion was permitted to enjoy probably served United Kingdom interests far more than all the secret conversations dreamt of by the journalists. Three Members of Parliament, Mr. Mikardo, Mr. Crossman, and Mr. Emrys Hughes, visited Israel during the Christmas recess; the Research Director of the Labour Party, Mr. Young, also came. (Another Christmas visitor was Mr. Harold Stassen, whose stay, however, was very brief.) Another step forward in Anglo-Israel relations was the opening of a British Council Library at Tel Aviv, and the formal committal of the Council's Jerusalem library to the care of the Hebrew University. On the other hand, it was reported that discussions in London on sterling releases for 1951 were not prospering as was hoped. It was noted that the Anglo-Israel Air Transport Agreement, signed on 6th December, was the first official document in Hebrew to be signed by a British Foreign Secretary.

Internal

13. So far as internal affairs are concerned the month was uneventful. The aftermath of the local elections of November was an undignified display of party bargaining over the election of mayors by the new councils. Mapai and Mapam ended by reaching an agreement which resulted in Histadrut mayors being returned in a number of cases; but Haifa, Jerusalem and Petah Tikvah were still without mayors at the end of the month. The parties' tendency to treat municipal affairs as nation-wide political issues and actually to barter support in one town for corresponding support in another has caused widespread disgust. By the end of December, after six weeks of bargaining, only eight out of fourteen municipalities had provided themselves with mayors.

14. There is now talk of setting up local councils in some Arab localities in the areas under military government, but though arrangements will be made by the Ministry of Interior, the military government will have control. The Arabs of Jaffa (united to Tel Aviv municipality), Haifa and Ramleh failed to return a councillor, but there will be one at Lydda. The Communists stood in only a limited number of places, but managed to secure one seat on the municipalities of Tel Aviv, Haifa, Ramleh and Lydda.

15. Almost unbroken fine weather has caused much concern about crops. But it

was at least satisfactory that the "transition camps" (Ma'abrot) where thousands of new immigrants are living in tents and inadequate huts, had not been flooded with the torrential rain which is normal at this season. In response to expressions of public concern a declaration was made in the Knesset on 11th December by the Minister of Labour on conditions in these camps. She made no attempt to conceal their "appalling" nature, but pointed out that it was a positive achievement to have "transferred many thousands of able-bodied men from enforced idleness in camps into a productive community." There are now 110 Ma'abrot, housing 17,665 families. In the supply of equipment they would, she said, be given priority. The debate was sparsely attended and ended in a decision to have the matter studied in committee and brought up again. The Religious Bloc took the opportunity to ventilate their grievances about the provision of religious educational facilities. Thanks to the drought and the energetic intervention of the Army, the Ma'abrot had by the end of the month almost lost their immediate interest.

16. The immigration figure for December was 12,275, bringing the provisional total for 1950 to 168,889 and that since independence to 510,034. Many newcomers are now being conducted straight from the ships to the Ma'abrot where they are at once put to work.

17. The new Minister of Agriculture, at his first press conference early in the month, made it clear that he was instituting no fundamental changes. Administrative red tape in food control would be cut down, but actual relief from rationing would be possible only to the extent that supplies became sufficient to meet demands.

18. A Bill designed to replace Defence Regulations of the Mandatory period and provide the legal basis for semi-permanent control of prices and profits has passed its first reading.

19. As a measure to redress the complaints of private enterprise that the co-operatives are enjoying special advantages, it has been announced that from April 1951 the Kibbutzim and rural co-operatives will no longer be exempt from payment of income tax.

20. On 20th December the Finance Minister made a Knesset speech in which he reviewed the progress made in 1950 and the prospects for 1951. He described the situation as precarious and dependent on large-scale help from America. He feared

the country was reaching "the crucial point" when there was a danger of further inflation and of the loss of Israel's "economic independence." At the same time he warned against exaggerated pessimism and took pains to substantiate his statements with figures. The debate which followed produced few new ideas. The emphasis was on the need to adapt the country's economic policy to the war situation in the world to-day and on suggestions for improving Israel's ability to face such a catastrophe should it materialise. Mr. Kaplan himself dealt only briefly with this aspect.

21. Among other things the Finance Minister attacked the citrus growers for trying to force the Government into accepting their demands by stopping work. Following the low prices obtained in European markets for their fruit exports this season, the growers asked for a bigger subsidy than they received last year, and when the Government's reaction was slow, the private growers stopped picking on 12th December. The Government, not wishing to be blackmailed, has in the circumstances been less helpful than it might have been towards the growers. At the same time the attitude towards the Government of the private sector of the industry has been worsened by the actions of the co-operative sector who have not only done their best to undermine the private growers' case, but have proposed that small and at present inefficient groves, which belong to the private sector, should be taken over by public companies. At the end of the month, the Government offered a 15 per cent. subsidy (12 per cent. last season), which the farmers considered insufficient. The stoppage of work continues.

22. Attention continued to be focused on developments in the United States in connexion with financial aid to Israel. The grant of a new credit of \$35 million from the Import-Export Bank at 3½ per cent. for 15 years was officially announced on 27th December. It is to be used for agricultural development only. The progress of the United Jewish Appeal in America was watched with anxiety owing to reports of poor results, but the fact that the target for 1951 was set as high as \$204 million by the Appeal's national conference at Atlantic City in mid-December suggested confidence on the part of American Jewish leaders. The date for the World Zionist Congress, to be held in Jerusalem has been fixed for July 1951.

23. With the expiry at the end of 1950 of a large number of wage agreements, signs of industrial unrest began to appear. Some trade union leaders who have hitherto supported the Histadrut's policy of wage restraint appear to be wavering. The Histadrut has already endorsed claims submitted by workers in the metal trades and in the ports. Should their claims succeed, widespread demands from other industries will undoubtedly be encouraged. A strike of Government employees, timed to begin on 22nd December, was postponed at the last moment on the understanding that two Cabinet Ministers would be charged with finding a solution to their grievances about family allowances within a week and also that arrears of pay would be cleared within six weeks.

24. On 14th December a reshuffle in the navy and air force command was announced. Aloof Remez, son of the present Minister of Education, relinquished the command of the air force, handing it over to Aloof Shamir, who had hitherto com-

manded the navy. The latter, an army officer, has no more technical knowledge of air matters than he had of naval affairs when he took over Israel's little fleet in 1949, but he is a strong character and good organiser. The change-over was connected with Remez's opposition to new measures tending to integrate the air force more closely with the army. The navy command has been taken over by the former Naval Chief of Operations, Aloof Limon.

25. On 14th December, Mr. Mordechai Namir (Nemirovsky), hitherto Israel Minister to Moscow, was elected as Secretary-General of the Histadrut, in succession to Mr. P. Lubianiker, now Minister of Agriculture.

26. A curious event of the month was the imposition by the Film and Theatrical Censorship Board of a ban on the singing of songs in the German language—even songs by Schumann. This evoked a flood of distinguished protests; but, stranger still, the ban was defended in the Knesset by the Minister of Education.

FK 1071/67

No. 2

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAEL MINISTER

Korea and Future Tactics in the United Nations

Mr. Bevin to Sir K. Helm (Tel Aviv)

(No. 10. Confidential) *Foreign Office, Sir,* 10th January, 1951.

The Israel Minister called on me to-day to speak about Korea and future tactics in the United Nations.

2. Mr. Elath expressed the appreciation of his Government for the general support which had been given to the Israel plan for a Korean settlement, and said that Sir Gladwyn Jebb's recent speech had been very helpful. He said that their plan had been discussed with the United States authorities who did not oppose the proposal for a cease-fire provided that it was not delayed too long, since the Administration were under heavy pressure from public opinion for action. Mr. Elath felt that the American memorandum which had been circulated to a number of Governments had dangerous implications which his Government were anxious to avoid.

3. Mr. Elath hoped that I would ask the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to support the Israel plan with such modi-

fications as might be found necessary. He stressed the need of action being taken very urgently in the United Nations.

4. I told Mr. Elath that we had been in constant consultation with Commonwealth Prime Ministers on Far Eastern problems over the last few days and that we hoped that final conclusions would be reached at the meeting on the morning of Thursday, 11th January. At the same time a number of delegations at Lake Success had also been in close touch regarding the Cease-Fire Committee's proposed "Principles" for governing a settlement and they had reached a close identity of views. I went on to say, for the Minister's confidential information, that certain suggestions had also been put to the United States Government by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and we were at that very time awaiting the President's and Mr. Acheson's reactions. We felt that it would be a good thing if the Powers, including the Chinese, could get together to meet and discuss Far Eastern problems.

Long-range talking would not help to settle these issues, which should be discussed in private. I told Mr. Elath that I would arrange to inform him of the conclusions reached by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers as soon as this was possible.

ER 1572/2

No. 3

ISRAEL: DEVELOPMENTS IN JEWISH IMMIGRATION

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Bevin.

(Received 21st January)

(No. 16. Restricted) *Tel Aviv, 16th January, 1951.*

I have the honour to inform you that, according to figures issued by the Israel Government, 168,839 immigrants entered Israel during 1950, making a total of 510,034 since the establishment of the State. For December the total was 12,275. Talking to the press on 7th January, Mr. Yitzhak Raphael, the head of the Jewish Agency Immigration Department, said that the 1950 immigration was equally divided between Europe on the one hand and Asia and Africa on the other. The largest number, 27.8 per cent., came from Roumania. Iraqis, who began arriving only in May, totalled 31,500, or 18.6 per cent., Poles 25,000, Persians and Kurds 12,000, Libyans 10,000, Yemenites 9,200 and French North Africans 8,800. Western Europe provided only 3.4 per cent. of the immigration and the Western Hemisphere only 1 per cent. including 780 from the United States and Canada and 820 from Central and South America. Some 6,000 arrived from China.

2. Mr. Raphael said that the age distribution of the immigrants was unfavourable, some 13,000, or 7.5 per cent. of the 1950 arrivals being over 60. He added that the percentage of unmarried immigrants, who were the easiest to absorb, was highest among North Africans, who also contained the smallest number of elderly people. The Jewish Agency has since stated that the 500,000 immigrants since the establishment of the State came from 58 different countries and that so far the majority are Ashkenazim (Jews from Germany, Russia and Eastern Europe). There has of late however been a definite swing in favour of the Sephardim (Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 and now coming mainly from the East), and in December 66.1 per cent. of the immigrants were Sephardim as against 33.9 per cent. Ashkenazim.

3. Talking of future plans, Mr. Raphael said that a total of 180,000 Jews would, if

possible, be brought to Israel in 1951, 45,000 of whom were to arrive during the first three months of this year. Among these would be 15,000 Iraqi Jews, 12,000 from Roumania, 4,000 from Persia, 2,500 from Poland, 2,000 from Tripolitania and 2,000 from French North Africa. Transport costs for the year would run to at least £1.15 million. He added that the geographical quotas for 1951 would be elastic in view of the international situation. Priority would in all cases be given to communities in the greatest danger. It was hoped that 5,000 Afghanistan Jews would arrive during the year and it was possible that the entire ancient Jewish agricultural community of Cochin in Southern India would be transferred. During the next three months 3,000 young pioneers would arrive to join communal settlements and youth aliyah institutions. The expenses of bringing all these people to Israel will be borne by the Jewish Agency Immigration Department, which took over this responsibility from the Joint Distribution Committee in December.

4. The Jewish Agency has also issued figures showing how the half-million Jews who have come into the country since the establishment of the State have been absorbed. These figures too readily add up to precisely 500,000; but for what they are worth, they are as follows:—

<i>Full Absorption—</i>	<i>Persons</i>
Urban centres	136,990
Agriculture	31,603
Towns and villages without Jewish Agency help	71,813
New settlements	29,789
Moshavim (existing)	4,303
Kibbutzim (existing)	20,459
Work villages	11,633
Youth institutions	20,365
Abandoned villages	14,699
Pioneers homes	8,703
Cared for by "Malben"—(invalids, social cases, &c.)	484
Homes for the aged	558
Total	351,399

<i>Partial Absorption—</i>	<i>Persons</i>
Ma'abot (transition camps) ...	38,510
Temporary work villages ...	46,205
Employed by Government, army and police ...	21,113
<i>Unabsorbed—</i>	
Dead of natural causes ...	849
Returned abroad from immigrant camps ...	1,048
Total (partially absorbed and unabsorbed) ...	107,725
Total absorbed into Israel ...	459,124
Still in immigrant camps ...	40,876
Total immigrants arrived ...	500,000

The third item in the list (towns and villages without Jewish Agency help) is probably the catchall for persons otherwise unaccounted for. For the rest, you will notice that nearly 15,000 have been installed in abandoned villages (a surprisingly small number, but it is not normally the policy to put Jews in Arab villages); and that no less than 96,000 are living in work villages and Ma'abot, in addition to the 41,000 still in the immigration camps.

5. Another Jewish Agency official told the press on 8th January that an attempt was now being made to establish town centres in the Negev to help with the absorption of immigrants. Two of them at Be'er Yeroham and Ein Hotzey (Ein Hosb) will absorb 1,200 people in a month. The Jewish Agency, in co-operation with Solel Boneh, the contracting agency of Histadrut, has set up equipment, tents and beds in the two centres and has launched an appeal for doctors, teachers, technicians, nurses and others to go to them.

6. I described in my despatch No. 325 of 28th November, 1950, the steps which the Israel Government had taken to deal with the problem of absorbing the immigrants and relieving the financial burden on the Jewish Agency. 58 Ma'abot, or transition camps, housing 15,000 families, have now

been established in all parts of the country and in some cases immigrants are now being sent straight to them on landing. So far the winter has been unusually mild and dry but a storm a few days ago gave the new immigrants a foretaste of the difficulties and discomforts they will have to put up with when the rains start in earnest. The camps were then in many cases reduced to a sea of mud, a good many tents collapsed, and in parts of the Judean hills the makeshift roads were rendered unusable and the food supply of the camps was endangered. According to the Jewish Agency about 65 per cent. of those still in immigrant camps are old people, or families with many children who cannot well be transferred to Ma'abot. These people cannot work and there are no houses near the towns to accommodate them.

7. It seems clear that the intention of the Israel Government to bring in the largest possible number of Jews from the Diaspora in the shortest possible time remains as firm as ever. Not only are they ruled by the principle underlying the Law of Return (my despatch No. 173 of 11th July, 1950), but they are also impressed with two overriding arguments—the need to get as many Jews as possible away from dangerous parts of the world before it is too late, and the need to increase the defence potential of the State of Israel, as was stressed by the Prime Minister in the speech reported in my despatch No. 11 of 8th January. Besides sheer survival, the Government look on this as their supreme task.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Warsaw, Cairo, Tehran, Bagdad, Kabul, Bucharest, Tripoli and Rabat, and the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

ER 1011/1

No. 4

ISRAEL: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1950

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Bevin. (Received 24th January)

(No. 19. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 17th January, 1951.

I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying review of Israel in 1950, for which I am indebted to Mr. J. E. Chadwick, my Head of Chancery.

2. A year ago I wrote that the Israelis were beginning to realise that they could not

live alone and that soon it might dawn on them that they would have to accommodate themselves to others. The enclosed review shows that the realisation has spread as internal economic strains grew and the horizon of world affairs darkened. The former have revealed Israel's vital dependence on American funds and foreign

capital investment generally; the latter has induced a growing association, though not yet identification, with the West which would perhaps even now have gone further but for the firm resolve of the Israel Government not to take any avoidable step the effect of which would be to prevent the maximum Jewish immigration into Israel from Eastern Europe.

3. Meanwhile the impetus with which the new State was launched has shown no sign of slackening. Industrial development proceeds apace, that in the field of agriculture rather more haltingly, and in one way or another room has been found for another 170,000 immigrants, the half million mark having been passed since the foundation of the State. Even here, as in industrial and agricultural development, more would have been done but for financial exigencies which, further accentuated by defence needs, have dominated internal politics. Yet, though everything suggests even greater strain to come, the machine is being driven resolutely forward and it seems to occur to few that it might run out of fuel.

4. Nor, in spite of the empty till and foreign indebtedness, is this surprising, for Israel is now conscious of having established herself and of being a force. It is true that she remains unrecognised by the neighbouring Arab States. But in her 1950 exchanges with these she scored telling points and in the wider political sphere her record has not been without credit. Her greatest disability remains the more disagreeable features of the Jewish character, with an inability to realise that the obtaining of the last farthing does not necessarily mean the best bargain, that in an imperfect world unrelieved seriousness is not a virtue and, perhaps above all, that strength is not always best displayed through force. Even in these directions, however, there are grounds for hope.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Jerusalem, Jeddah and the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

Enclosure in No. 4
General

Despite continual internal strains, the coalition between Mapai (Labour) and the Religious parties survived the year, and

under the strong leadership of Mr. Ben Gurion much progress was made. The Government's policy was based on three fundamental points: national security, the continuance of mass Jewish immigration, and the creation of full employment by the import of capital to finance development and the settlement of the immigrants. Policy on all of these points is necessarily affected by the course of world events, and thus the outbreak of the Korean affair proved to be a landmark in Israel domestic affairs. On the one hand, it completed the breach between the two labour parties, Mapai and Mapam, and accelerated the movement of public opinion in favour of co-operation with the West; on the other, it sapped the already much weakened confidence of the public in the economic stability of the country, so that much hard work was needed in the closing months of the year to repair the damage.

2. By the middle of the year, Israel had entered into diplomatic relations with most of the leading countries of the world except those of Asia. Israel undoubtedly benefited from these relations and from her membership of the United Nations, to gain much-needed lessons in statecraft, though there is still much to learn. Experience in constitutional practice was also valuable, and the Government were able to give a firm lead in the direction of democracy and political stability, taking the methods adopted in Britain in recent years as their lodestar. Mandatory legislation continued to be the basis of the legal system. The problem of merging well-established Jewish institutions of mandatory times into the fabric of the new State remains only partly solved; in particular, the Histadrut, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund, and the strange quadripartite system of education, in which each political mode of thought has its own schools with a special syllabus.

3. Another unsolved problem—and this may require many years to settle—is the relationship of the new State to the Jews of Diaspora. The population of Israel is still less than half the Jewish population of New York City. Many Israelis, including members of the Government, think and speak of British and American Jewry as potential immigrants who sooner or later should come to Israel, and who meanwhile should give their all to maintain its existence. This attitude engendered some friction. The Prime Minister himself was obliged to declare that the first loyalty of American Jews was to the United States, not to Israel.

On the other hand, enthusiastic Zionists in America who were ready with good advice on how their contributions should be spent met obstinate resistance from the Israel Government, who were determined to run their Socialist economic policy without interference from abroad.

4. Mr. Ben Gurion, indeed, would ill brook criticism from any source. As the year went on, his demeanour became more and more autocratic; and although all persons of moderate views were ready to recognise the advantages of his strong rule, there were, none the less, some who were disturbed by his apparent reliance on youthful advisers with more energy than judgment.

Foreign Relations

5. The most important feature of Israel foreign policy was the movement, at first very slow but gathering speed after the start of the Korean affair, towards an alignment with the West in the ideological struggle with the Soviet Union. Throughout the year the watchword of Israel policy continued to be non-identification, but it was beginning to have a different and much weaker meaning in December from what it carried in January. In January Mr. Henry J. Morgenthau was fiercely attacked as a warmonger for suggesting that Israel should join a Middle Eastern pact to resist Soviet expansion. The modification of this attitude was greatly helped by the steady improvement in relations between Israel and the United Kingdom and by the realisation of the extent of Israel's dependence on economic assistance from the United States. In May the Histadrut executive decided to withdraw from the World Federation of Trade Unions and in June the Mapai Party publicly dissociated itself from the activities of the Peace Committee. When North Korean aggression was condemned by the United Nations, the Israel Government declared their support of the United Nations' action, and their policy was fully endorsed by the Knesset. In the debate the Foreign Minister said that Israel had undertaken to abide by the United Nations Charter and had based its foreign policy on the United Nations. Non-identification could not be perverted into the repudiation of world peace or used as a pretext for running away from Israel's responsibilities to the United Nations. Non-identification was not the same as neutrality.

6. During the succeeding debates in the General Assembly, the Israel delegate endeavoured to serve as a mediator between the Eastern and Western *blocs*, but when

mediation broke down, consistently supported the proposals of the Western Powers. Non-identification was then defined as "independent judgment." Finally, after Chinese intervention in Korea, it seemed that the Israel Government recognised that their future survival was bound up with the West, but at the same time they were frightened by extremist tendencies in the United States and thought of themselves, with India, Britain and others, as part of the world force which might keep the two great antagonists from each other's threats.

7. The change in the climate of opinion did not permit of any approval of the policy of the Western Powers towards Germany, and the proposed raising of German forces for the North Atlantic Powers caused a shiver of revulsion. Germany and things German were resisted at every opportunity, while demands for restitution and compensation were pressed whenever possible.

8. Important milestones in the improvement of relations with the United Kingdom were the signature on 30th March of the Anglo-Israel Financial Agreement and the grant on 27th April of *de jure* recognition of Israel, with *de facto* recognition of her occupation of Jewish Jerusalem. The former settlement disposed of a number of difficult questions which might otherwise have provided irritants for years to come. The next hurdle was the Jewish agitation against the supply of arms to Arab States, but not to Israel. At one stage this became quite bitter, but it was lulled to rest by the Tripartite Declaration on the Middle East of 25th May by which the United Kingdom, the United States and France underwrote the disturbance by force of existing frontiers in the Middle East. The later decision in July to offer training facilities in the United Kingdom for the Israel defence services was regarded as a valuable advance. Other misunderstandings were smoothed over with the help of a steady interchange of visits, both official and private. Of particular importance were those to Israel of the Labour Party delegation in January; of the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Station, in June, and the Secretary of State for Air in September; and, in the other direction, of a Knesset delegation to London in July, a press delegation in August, and a delegation from the Histadrut to the British Labour movement in December. These visits created a fresh store of goodwill, which was all the stronger because the Mapai party, at least, felt that they were pursuing the same ideals of

government as His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

9. Relations with the United States remained cordial, but a feeling grew up that the United States Government were less interested in the Middle East in general, and in Israel in particular, than had been hoped. France developed a connexion with Israel in military matters, by the provision of training facilities, and in economics by the provision of trade credits.

10. The Israel Government endured stoically the wintry attitude of the Soviet Union, remembering always Russian help in the early days of Israel's existence and intent on doing nothing which might effectively close the Iron Curtain to the exit of Jews to Israel; but at the same time they took measures to restrict Communist activities based on Israel.

11. There was, if anything, a deterioration in relations with the neighbouring Arab States. The Palestine Conciliation Commission was unable to make any progress, as the Arabs still demanded that the repatriation, or at least the compensation, of refugees should be settled before they would negotiate, while Israel refused to discuss the refugee question except as part of a general negotiation. In fact, the Israel Government made it clear that they regarded their 1949 offer to repatriate 100,000 refugees as having lapsed. They also refused to consider territorial cessions, and were willing to negotiate only on the basis of the *status quo*.

12. For a few halcyon days in March it seemed that a settlement between Israel and Jordan was in sight; but when, a few weeks later, the Arab League resolved that any member concluding an agreement with Israel should be expelled, and when the newly-elected Jordanian Parliament showed itself to be as determinedly opposed to a settlement with Israel as any of the neighbouring Governments, a progressive deterioration set in. For some time the Israel Government sought in various ways to draw the Jordan Government into discussion, but at the end of August they turned to a policy of extracting every advantage in their dealings with the Jordanian authorities, unless the latter showed themselves more willing to co-operate with Israel.

13. Thus a flare-up occurred at the end of August when some Israelis crossed the River Jordan to cultivate a plot near Naharayim, which is shown on the Israel side of the armistice demarcation line marked on the Rhodes map. The Jordan Government were with difficulty restrained

from the use of force to expel the cultivators and appealed to the Security Council to order an Israel withdrawal. At about the same time Egypt, which hitherto had been able to settle local border affairs without fuss, protested to the Security Council about the expulsion from southern Israel of some 4,000 Bedouin considered by the Israelis to be infiltrators, and the transfer of the Arab inhabitants of Majdal to the Gaza strip. The backing given to these complaints by other Arab Governments convinced the Israel Government that a concerted attack was being launched on them in preparation for the General Assembly, and they in their turn complained to the Security Council of the refusal of Egypt and Jordan to carry out the terms of the armistice agreements. The Council's examination of these complaints in October seemed generally to uphold the Israel case, and the resolution adopted called upon all parties to settle their differences through the armistice machinery.

14. At this point the Jordan Government discovered that part of the Israel motor road in the Wadi Araba built a year previously appeared to cross the Palestine-Transjordan frontier as marked on the map, and at the end of November an Arab Legion force was sent to block the road. While efforts were being made to bring the matter before the Mixed Armistice Commission a skirmish occurred on 3rd December between the Jordanian force and Israel troops. This brought about the resignation of the Jordan Government, and thereafter both sides behaved more temperately. It appeared, at the end of the year that Israel was likely to substantiate its claim to the disputed stretch of road.

15. Before these territorial incidents occurred the Palestine Conciliation Commission had made a fresh effort to initiate direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan. They succeeded only in bringing together the Special Committee provided for in the Armistice Agreement; but up to the end of the year the Special Committee was still unable to agree on the order of its agenda.

16. The Israel Government's attitude to the Arab refugee question was that there could be no question of repatriation, but they modified their attitude to the intent of expressing readiness to pay suitable compensation as a first step towards a general settlement, it being understood that they would have counterclaims against the Arab countries. In the discussion on the refugee problem at the General Assembly in the

autumn Israel offered to place a sum (subsequently said to be £1 million) at the disposal of the Refugee Reintegration Fund.

17. As regards the Holy Places, the year opened with a display of Israel resistance to the United Nations resolution on Jerusalem of December 1949 and of their objections to the Garreau plan. In fact at the end of January the Knesset voted a proclamation declaring that Jerusalem was and always had been the capital of Israel and that it was only as a matter of brief necessity that the capital had been *de facto* at Tel Aviv. In May the Israel Government declared that they could not accept the plan elaborated by the Trusteeship Council and put forward new proposals providing for the establishment of a United Nations Commissioner to supervise only the Holy Places. Even though hopes were not high, it was a disappointment when in December the General Assembly failed to adopt the somewhat similar plan proposed by Sweden. Israel joined in voting down the opposing proposal put forward by Belgium.

Internal

18. At the beginning of the year, the Labour movement made a strenuous effort to heal its schisms, and negotiations for a political agreement between the Mapai and Mapam parties continued all through January and February, only to collapse in March. The main motive for seeking agreement, and equally the main obstacle to it, was economic policy. But from March onwards, the rift steadily widened, as Mapam identified itself more and more with the Cominform and Mapai with social democracy of the Anglo-Scandinavian type. These ideological differences slowly permeated all Histadrut activities, even the conduct of trade disputes and the management of collective agricultural settlements.

19. Efforts to bring the General Zionists into the Government at the same time as Mapam were equally unsuccessful. If these negotiations had succeeded, Mapai would no doubt have terminated its uneasy coalition with the religious parties, who kept the Government in a state of uneasy ferment throughout the year. The religious *bloc* demanded the strict observance of the Pharisaic law, and in particular complained that inadequate provision was made for the religious kind of education in the immigrant camps. Their Ministers almost resigned in January; but lengthy negotiations resulted in an agreement that Yemenite immigrants should be schooled only in the religious

curriculum. In October the resignation of the Cabinet was brought about by the exasperation of Mapai with the demands of their religious colleagues; on that occasion the Government was re-formed without any concession of importance to the religious side. At the end of the year the question of religious education was once more a-simmering.

20. An important consequence of the religious issue was the decision to abandon the declared intention of drafting a written Constitution and to rely instead on the enactment of a series of basic laws. It was obvious that the religious *bloc* would insist on including in a formal document provisions of the Jewish religious law which are quite unacceptable to four-fifths of the population, and that the drafting of a Constitution would be an endless source of dissension. One or two of the basic laws reached the statute book during the year, notably the Law of the Return declaring the inalienable right of every Jew to come to Israel; but the immigration and nationality Bills were still being studied in committee at the end of the year.

21. One matter on which there was virtually no controversy was the continuance of mass Jewish immigration. This was regarded by Government spokesmen both as a sacred duty to oppressed co-religionists and as a means of strengthening the security of Israel. The tremendous strain thereby imposed on the State's economy was generally accepted as a hard necessity, and few people living in Israel ventured to raise their voices to suggest any limitation of the flow. Limitation is, in fact, as yet politically unthinkable: the Jews fought the Mandatory Government on this issue too long. In practice, shortage of funds and lack of accommodation had the effect of curtailing the rate of immigration: the Jewish Agency were obliged to limit the facilities for movement from some areas (for example, Morocco), while movement from other areas (notably Poland and Roumania) was in full flow. During the year nearly 170,000 Jews came to Israel. The remarkable feat of transporting over 40,000 Yemenite Jews by air from Aden to Lydda came to an end in September. The adjustment of these backward people to the pushful modernity of their new surroundings was tackled with great enthusiasm.

22. Shortage of funds, again, was mainly responsible for the decision, in the middle of the year, to transfer a large part of the population of the immigrant camps to

"transition camps" (ma'abarot), where they would no longer be on relief but would be employed on public works or on preparing inhospitable land for cultivation. The conditions of life were most primitive, and the approach of the rainy season gave rise to fears of great hardship—so much so that the Army was brought in to improve the standards of maintenance in the camps. Altogether it was estimated that about 150,000 people, or more than one-tenth of the population, would spend the winter in tents or other inadequate dwellings.

23. The financing of immigration, and the national balance of payments generally, were a source of increasing concern throughout the year, as the flow of American voluntary contributions was seen to be falling below requirements. The vast imports of both capital and consumer goods required to carry the burden was far beyond the export capacity of Israel industry, and far even beyond the gifts accruing from World Jewry, imposing as their contributions were, the Israel Government were forced to use every device to raise credit abroad. While the Government's general economic policy remained the same as in 1949, namely the creation of a controlled economy to safeguard full employment and the standard of living of the agricultural

and industrial population and the encouragement of State socialism, they fully realised the importance of encouraging private investment, both domestic and foreign, and special inducements were granted to foreign investors. On the other hand it was made clear during the budget debate that further controls and very rigid austerity would be necessary, and during the summer there was a marked deterioration in the availability of consumer goods and the supply of raw materials. The sudden introduction of clothes rationing on 30th July created an economic crisis which lasted about two months, until the reconstitution of the Government and the importation of a non-party business man to replace the offending Minister restored public confidence in the conduct of affairs. The great complaint of the business community, both large and small, was that there was official discrimination in favour of co-operative enterprise and of the industries under the control of the Histadrut, not only in statutory exemptions from taxation but even in the allocation of raw materials.

24. At the height of the crisis, early in September, the Israel Government summoned a conference of some fifty influential

American Jews at Jerusalem to consider the future programme of aid to Israel. The plans for the conference had been laid months ahead, but, either on account of domestic difficulties or for dramatic effect, invitations were sent out at short notice; and the participants arrived hot-foot to hear Mr. Ben Gurion propose a programme to raise in three years funds equivalent to \$1,500 million, to finance the immigration of 600,000 persons; American Jews were invited to subscribe two-thirds of this sum, by gifts, public loans, or private investment, while the rest of the world, including Israel itself, would find the remainder.

25. The enthusiastic endorsement of this programme was a material factor in restoring public confidence in Israel. It soon became known, however, that formidable difficulties would have to be overcome in the United States. A Congress of American Jewry held at Washington at the end of October once again endorsed the plan, though without committing itself to any particular amount, but stipulating as the primary method of fund-raising pressure on the United States Administration to grant Government aid to Israel. Negotiations on this and other methods of financing were in full swing by the end of the year.

26. It was a cardinal point in the Israel Government's policy that while increased austerity was unavoidable the general standard of living and employment of the working classes should be maintained, and it was recognised that this could only be done by a great increase in productivity. The Mapai section of the Histadrut pursued a temperate course on wage demands though they were hampered by their failure at the beginning of the year to reach agreement with Mapam. At that time Mapai were probably willing to agree to a wage ceiling; to this Mapam would not agree and a number of substantial wage increases were given in various industries during the year, and when in December the non-party Minister for Trade and Industry referred to the necessity for a wage freeze he received no support at all from his Mapai colleagues. A campaign for the institution of efficiency committees in factories had initial success but soon dwindled into unimportance. A more successful measure was the Histadrut's decision to encourage incentive payments.

27. Another heavy burden on the finances of the country was the maintenance of the armed forces. Owing to the lack of any peace settlement with the neighbouring countries

the army continued to enjoy a position of privilege, which perhaps was a contributory cause, rather than a result, of a general chauvinism which is perhaps the least pleasant feature of the State of Israel. Great efforts were made not only to obtain adequate equipment but also to improve methods of training and organisation. It seems also that care was taken to remove from responsible positions officers with Mapam affiliations. The need for military preparedness was willingly accepted by public opinion and, indeed, was recommended to it by the incessant recurrence of border raids across the long frontier with Jordan, which necessitated the maintenance of civilian patrolling.

28. Raiding and the hostile attitude of the Arab States also had their effect on the posi-

tion of the Arab minority in Israel, which (except for the remnants in the bigger centres like Jaffa and Ramleh) remained subject to hampering restrictions, and particularly to the disabilities of the Absentee Property Law of March 1950. On the other hand, the Israel authorities prompted, unhappily, by Communist championship of Arab grievances began to show themselves aware of bearing responsibilities for their Arab population. The Arabs of Majdal, near the border of the Gaza strip, who were confined for reasons of security in a kind of ghetto, were encouraged to transfer elsewhere where conditions of life would be easier. A few moved to Ramleh, but the majority opted to go to the Gaza strip. Altogether the handling of the Arab minority left much to be desired.

ER 1071/3

No. 5

ACTIVITIES OF THE ISRAEL DELEGATION AT THE FIFTH ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Bevin. (Received 31st January)

(No. 33. Restricted) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 27th January, 1951.

I have the honour to inform you that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Moshe Sharett, who returned to Israel on 13th January, made a speech in the Knesset on 23rd January on the activities of the Israel Delegation to the Fifth Assembly of the United Nations.

2. Mr. Sharett began by explaining that the Israel Delegation had been working in two different spheres: first, Middle Eastern questions, in which Israel's neighbours had continued their blind and obstinate refusal to accept her political existence; and secondly, problems of world-wide concern, where Israel was now making a distinctive contribution to the search for a solution to the problem on which the peace of the world depends.

3. Mr. Sharett turned first to the Jerusalem question and described the course of the discussions at Lake Success and the "world-wide effort" made by his department in the course of the last year to bring home to world opinion the true realities of the situation in New Jerusalem. He reaffirmed in categorical terms the Government's pledge to protect religious interests and the Holy Places, adding that the Government might find it necessary to express its concern and responsibility in this

respect by introducing special legislation. The fact that no resolution at all had been adopted and that discussion of the Jerusalem question had ended without any decision caused, he said, no concern to the Government of Israel and he felt that it should cause no concern either to those who cherished the Holy Places.

4. Dealing with the report of the United Nations Works and Rehabilitation Agency, the question of Arab refugees and the report of the Conciliation Commission, he asserted once again that there could be no solution to the refugee problem by their return to Israel, adding that the most effective rejection of that proposal had been contained in a speech by Lord MacDonald, the representative of the United Kingdom. "We are vitally interested," he said, "in putting a speedy end to the hardships of the Arab refugees and we are ready to assist in this respect, as far as it lies within our power, by paying them compensation for their abandoned lands; but we are in no way prepared to commit suicide, and no State and not even the United Nations can force us to do so. He described the stand that the Israel Delegation had taken about the payment of compensation and repeated that the Israel Government would contribute to the Reintegration Fund if they were given actual proof that the monies were being expended

on a final settlement of the refugees, and if they were satisfied that the payments made to the Reintegration Fund would absolve Israel from the need to deal with individual claims. Mr. Sharett thought that although the bitter discussions of the refugee problem would continue for years to come, the debates in the Fifth Assembly had served "to remove illusory solutions from the agenda."

5. Mr. Sharett said that no progress had been made towards the conclusion of peace between the neighbouring States and Israel, and that the only new recommendation of the Conciliation Commission, which was for direct talks between the parties, had not been endorsed by the Assembly. He mentioned the support given by the United Kingdom representative for the proposals for direct negotiations, supported also by Turkey and France and the United States; despite this support "the peace effort reverted to the previous blind alley." Peace now hung on the discretion of the rulers of the neighbouring countries: "every hand extended in peace will be clasped by the hand of Israel." He added that the neighbouring countries firmly believed that the economic difficulties resulting from the historic task which Israel had undertaken would bring about her collapse, but said that they had never committed so gross a misjudgment, for the Israelis were a stiff-necked people, and the severe trials of to-day would only strengthen and fortify them. The land blockade was, he said, doomed to failure as long as sea and air routes were open and in the meantime caused far greater loss to the besiegers than to the besieged.

6. Speaking of Korea and of the stand taken by the Israel Delegation, Mr. Sharett said that the international conscience of the State of Israel obliged the delegation both to take up an attitude and to elucidate it. He went out of his way to stress the independent attitude of the delegation, which had not been subject to one side and hostile to the other but had weighed every step on its merits. In so doing it had joined in the denunciation of the aggression that had occurred in Korea, had supported the proposal to suspend a decision on the crossing of the 38th Parallel until a final effort had been made to reach agreement on the various proposals submitted, thus bringing the delegation into conflict with the United States, had continuously recommended before and during the session the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and had not been afraid to

clash in this also with the stand taken on this by the United States. It had also taken every opportunity to warn against the sending of United Nations forces too close to the northern border of Korea. Mr. Sharett claimed that "at a certain decisive stage" Israel was promised that the United Nations forces would halt some distance from the border, but "this promise was not kept." He described the various proposals made by the Israel Delegation, culminating in the plan put forward by Mr. Eban, to whose abilities he paid tribute in his speech. Mr. Sharett claimed that the Cease-Fire Committee's proposals were in fact identical with this Israel plan, and that it was this plan, tabled on British and Indian encouragement, that was passed by a large majority of the Political Committee but subsequently rejected by the Chinese Communist Government.

7. In the ensuing debate (to be concluded on 30th January) little new was added to the policies advocated by the various parties, though Mr. Bernstein, the General Zionist leader, caused something of a sensation by saying, with reference to Mr. Ben Gurion's belief in immigration as a source of security, that in Israel's present economic situation he did not know whether unlimited immigration strengthened her position. He thought that the weakness of Israel should have prevented her from taking a stand on issues not directly affecting her. Mr. Katz of Herut gave the Minister qualified support on the Far Eastern question, while Mr. Aranne of Mapai, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset, who had served as a member of the United Nations Delegation, said that Israel should consider the preservation of the body as well as the preservation of the soul.

8. It appears from the emphasis placed by Mr. Sharett on the independent line taken by the Israel Delegation, and from the stress he laid on the occasions on which the views of the delegation clashed with those of the United States Government, that he may have been making a special effort to place the Government's policy in a favourable light before those members of Mapai who were not prepared to accept blindly the lead of the Cominform on all matters of foreign policy. If this is so, his efforts have not met with any response. Mr. Riftin, who spoke for Mapai in the debate, delivered an uncompromising attack on Mr. Sharett's policy. He said that the Israel Delegation's record was one of total failure, that no progress had been made with regard to

the army continued to enjoy a position of privilege, which perhaps was a contributory cause, rather than a result, of a general chauvinism which is perhaps the least pleasant feature of the State of Israel. Great efforts were made not only to obtain adequate equipment but also to improve methods of training and organisation. It seems also that care was taken to remove from responsible positions officers with Mapam affiliations. The need for military preparedness was willingly accepted by public opinion and, indeed, was recommended to it by the incessant recurrence of border raids across the long frontier with Jordan, which necessitated the maintenance of civilian patrolling.

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on a final settlement of the refugees, and if they were satisfied that the payments made to the Reintegration Fund would absolve Israel from the need to deal with individual claims. Mr. Sharett thought that although the bitter discussions of the refugee problem would continue for years to come, the debates in the Fifth Assembly had served "to remove illusory solutions from the agenda."

5. Mr. Sharett said that no progress had been made towards the conclusion of peace between the neighbouring States and Israel, and that the only new recommendation of the Conciliation Commission, which was for direct talks between the parties, had not been endorsed by the Assembly. He mentioned the support given by the United Kingdom representative for the proposals for direct negotiations, supported also by Turkey and France and the United States; despite this support "the peace effort reverted to the previous blind alley." Peace now hung on the discretion of the rulers of the neighbouring countries: "every hand extended in peace will be clasped by the hand of Israel." He added that the neighbouring countries firmly believed that the economic difficulties resulting from the historic task which Israel had undertaken would bring about her collapse, but said that they had never committed so gross a misjudgment, for the Israelis were a stiff-necked people, and the severe trials of to-day would only strengthen and fortify them. The land blockade was, he said, doomed to failure as long as sea and air routes were open and in the meantime caused far greater loss to the besiegers than to the besieged.

6. Speaking of Korea and of the stand taken by the Israel Delegation, Mr. Sharett said that the international conscience of the State of Israel obliged the delegation both to take up an attitude and to elucidate it. He went out of his way to stress the independent attitude of the delegation, which had not been subject to one side and hostile to the other but had weighed every step on its merits. In so doing it had joined in the denunciation of the aggression that had occurred in Korea, had supported the proposal to suspend a decision on the crossing of the 38th Parallel until a final effort had been made to reach agreement on the various proposals submitted, thus bringing the delegation into conflict with the United States, had continuously recommended before and during the session the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and had not been afraid to

clash in this also with the stand taken on this by the United States. It had also taken every opportunity to warn against the sending of United Nations forces too close to the northern border of Korea. Mr. Sharett claimed that "at a certain decisive stage" Israel was promised that the United Nations forces would halt some distance from the border, but "this promise was not kept." He described the various proposals made by the Israel Delegation, culminating in the plan put forward by Mr. Eban, to whose abilities he paid tribute in his speech. Mr. Sharett claimed that the Cease-Fire Committee's proposals were in fact identical with this Israel plan, and that it was this plan, tabled on British and Indian encouragement, that was passed by a large majority of the Political Committee but subsequently rejected by the Chinese Communist Government.

7. In the ensuing debate (to be concluded on 30th January) little new was added to the policies advocated by the various parties, though Mr. Bernstein, the General Zionist leader, caused something of a sensation by saying, with reference to Mr. Ben Gurion's belief in immigration as a source of security, that in Israel's present economic situation he did not know whether unlimited immigration strengthened her position. He thought that the weakness of Israel should have prevented her from taking a stand on issues not directly affecting her. Mr. Katz of Herut gave the Minister qualified support on the Far Eastern question, while Mr. Aranne of Mapai, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset, who had served as a member of the United Nations Delegation, said that Israel should consider the preservation of the body as well as the preservation of the soul.

8. It appears from the emphasis placed by Mr. Sharett on the independent line taken by the Israel Delegation, and from the stress he laid on the occasions on which the views of the delegation clashed with those of the United States Government, that he may have been making a special effort to place the Government's policy in a favourable light before those members of Mapai who were not prepared to accept blindly the lead of the Cominform on all matters of foreign policy. If this is so, his efforts have not met with any response. Mr. Riftin, who spoke for Mapai in the debate, delivered an uncompromising attack on Mr. Sharett's policy. He said that the Israel Delegation's record was one of total failure, that no progress had been made with regard to

Jerusalem, the Arab refugees or peace with the Arab world, while the line taken in the Korean crisis was shameful. He advocated total support for the North Koreans. For the most part, Mr. Sharett's speech has been well received, and it is probable that his emphasis on the independence and efforts for peace of the Israel Delegation has succeeded in driving Mapam further towards being an extremist minority divorced from public support on any large scale.

ER 1071/5

No. 6

ISRAEL FOREIGN POLICY

Debate in the Knesset

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Bevin. (Received 7th February)

(No. 46. Restricted) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 2nd February, 1951.

In my despatch No. 33 of 27th January I informed you that the debate on foreign affairs following Mr. Sharett's report to the Knesset would be concluded on 30th January. On that day, after the Minister for Foreign Affairs had answered criticisms made by the Opposition Parties, the motion approving the Israel delegation's action during the United Nations General Assembly was adopted by 56 votes to 29.

2. On the resumption of the debate the Mapam Party introduced a motion denouncing the Government's foreign policy as dangerous to Israel's independence and world peace, condemning the Israel delegation's stand on Far East issues, and calling for the suspension of negotiations for Point Four assistance from the United States. I am reporting separately on the last question. The Mapam motion was supported only by the Communists and by the solitary representative of the Fighters' Party, and was decisively defeated, as was a following Communist motion.

3. Herut and the General Zionists, who had opposed the two previous motions, avoided putting their own to a vote. But their representatives made declarations of policy. Dr. Bernstein, for the General Zionists, approved the Israel delegation's stand against Communist aggression in Korea, which he said constituted a departure from the policy of non-identification, but disapproved of the action of the delegation in introducing their own formula which could, he claimed, have no practical influence and only served to give Israel

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Cairo, Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Damascus, Jeddah and Jerusalem, to the Permanent United Kingdom Delegate to the United Nations, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

that the Government had not promised and would not promise bases to anyone. Otherwise he accused Mapam of expecting the Israel delegation to identify itself in all respects with the stand of Communist China, and to identify the progressive emancipation of the Asian peoples with the spread of the Soviet system. He pointed to the achievement of independence by India, Burma and Ceylon, who had owed nothing to Soviet Russia. He also pointed out the obvious truth that only in the free world did the Jewish people enjoy full opportunities for self-expression and free scope for their wish to help Israel, and said that although Israelis wanted to be friends with Russia they were not going to deny themselves the opportunities of drawing upon foreign capital, arms, supplies, sources of knowledge and technical assistance, which in practice could only be obtained from the free world. He challenged Mapam to state their positive policy for Israel and the Jewish people, and claimed that they only attacked the Government because they knew that their policy, on which further immigration and the existence of Mapam's

own institutions depended, would not thereby be changed. In conclusion, he spoke of the historic process of the "in-gathering of the exiles" and said that the aggravation of the world political crisis inevitably increased Israel's dependence on the resources of the free world (which in his speech he referred to as the "open world" as opposed to the "closed world" of the Soviet system). It was, he said, irresponsible to reject as unthinkable the possibility of an invasion of Israel, and the country had therefore to be forearmed and supplies must be collected. The Government's sole aim was, he said, to ensure Israel's survival, to safeguard her independence and to enable her to fulfil her historic mission.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Cairo, Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Damascus, Jeddah and Jerusalem, to the Permanent United Kingdom Delegate to the United Nations, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

ER 1013/2

No. 7

MONTHLY REPORT ON ISRAEL FOR JANUARY 1951

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Bevin. (Received 7th February)

(No. 50. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 5th February, 1951.

I have the honour to forward a General Report on Israel for January 1951.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jeddah, Karachi, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

Enclosure in No. 7

Monthly Report on Israel for January 1951

General

The Government's policy towards the crisis in the Far East and its repercussions in the United Nations met with general acceptance despite criticism from both left and right wings of the opposition.

2. There was much speculation on the development of Israel's relations with the United Kingdom, prompted by the growing awareness of the dilemma which exists between the desire to maintain a policy of "non-identification" and the consciousness that Israel's future is inextricably linked with that of the Western democracies.

3. The stability of the government coalition is again threatened by a dispute between the Orthodox parties and Mapai over religious education in the transition camps.

4. As a result of the Iraq Government's declared intention to stop the emigration of Jews at the end of May the rate of immigration into Israel from all sources will be temporarily increased to about 20,000 a month.

Foreign Affairs

5. The discussion of the position of Israel in the event of world war continued unabated, and the government's views on the subject were twice set forth, once by the

Prime Minister on 2nd January and again by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on 30th January. The Prime Minister spoke of the need to defend Israel both against world powers and against its neighbours, and of the importance for defence of a high rate of immigration. He reaffirmed the government's policy in world affairs of "independent judgment" and of helping to strengthen world peace; but in a global war a fully mobilised Israel could defend its state of peace and sovereignty. At the end of the month Mr. Sharett, refuting Mapam criticisms of his policy, asserted that, while Israel had no desire to become involved in any war, the world crisis increased her dependence upon the resources of the West. The possibility of invasion could not be dismissed and survival and national independence demanded that the armed forces be kept on the alert.

6. The controversy on this question was closely linked with the question of relations with the United Kingdom, largely thanks to the forthright statements of visiting Members of Parliament. Mr. Mikardo's suggestion that the United Kingdom should establish a base in the Negev excited little comment, but Mr. Crossman's *gaffe* in the *Sunday Pictorial* attributing to Israelis a desire for the presence of British troops provoked a storm of outraged protest. The general attitude of the moderate parties was that Israel was ready to co-operate with the West, but not to the extent of providing bases in peace-time. Indeed the Minister for Foreign Affairs found it necessary to declare in the Knesset that "it was a lie to say that Israel had promised or would promise bases to anyone."

7. The news that General Robertson is to visit Israel leaked out prematurely, and a misguided suppression of the news by censorship for 24 hours led to much unwelcome speculation on the real purpose of the General's visit. It was immediately linked with the ideas expressed by Mr. Crossman and Mr. Mikardo and vituperative "warnings" were forthcoming from the Communist, Mapam and Herut press. In this setting the visits on 29th January of Mr. Furlonge and Sir Frank Whittle aroused considerable interest. Both were warmly welcomed.

8. The agreement for the release of Israel's blocked sterling was generally well received, though the General Zionist press offered the pertinent comment that this rapid release and consumption of one of Israel's main resources of foreign exchange

should not be held up as a triumph for the government. The general satisfaction was increased by the news of fresh arrangements with the oil companies.

9. Developments in Korea and at Lake Success have continued to cause general apprehension as well as dissension between the major political parties. There was much gratification that Israel had taken the initiative in putting forward proposals for mediation which were substantially adopted by the Political Committee, though the Minister for Foreign Affairs later had to face charges that Israel had stepped above its place and had caused trouble by acting as the puppet of one of the great powers. He delivered a vigorous defence of his policy in the Knesset on 23rd and 30th January, and obtained a handsome majority.

10. As part of the same trend towards the West—indeed the most compelling part of it—the Knesset ratified the new Export-Import Bank loan and the proposed acceptance of Point Four aid.

11. On 9th January the Israel Government informed the United Kingdom, France and the United States that exceptional circumstances made it impossible for Israel to follow their lead in ending the state of war with Germany. A formal protest against the rearmament of Germany was adopted by the Knesset on 10th January. Despite the objections of Mapam and the Communists the resolution protested against rearmament both in the Western and Eastern Zones. On 16th January Israel presented Notes to the four occupying powers pressing Jewish claims to restitution.

12. There have been no notable developments during the month in Israel-Jordan relations, which continue strained. A draft compromise settlement of the Elath road dispute seems to be hanging fire. The Special Committee under Article VIII of the Jordan Armistice did not meet during the month. The Special Committee under the Egyptian Armistice Agreement met on 16th January to consider the Suez Canal question. General Riley reserved his decision.

13. Mr. Monnett B. Davis has been appointed United States Ambassador to Israel in succession to Dr. James Mac Donald, and is expected early in February. Marquis R. Giustiniani, the new Italian Minister, presented his credentials to President Weizman on 26th January. The nomination of Mr. Shazar as Israel Minister at Moscow has been rejected by the Soviet Government. No official reason was given.

Internal

14. The insecurity of the government coalition was once more revealed by a dispute about religious education in the transition camps for immigrants (*ma'abrot*). The agreement made between Mapai and the Religious Parties last November provided for religious schooling for all Yemenite children in immigrant camps and, in the case of other immigrants, for free choice by parents between religious and secular education. The Religious Parties wanted this agreement to be extended to cover the transition camps, but Mapai would not agree; and in practice the letter of the law was applied, leaving open to all immigrants, including Yemenites, a choice between four systems of education, only two of which are religious. On 4th January Rabbi Maimon, the Minister for Religious Affairs, angrily announced his resignation from the government on this issue. After three days he was persuaded to withdraw his resignation and the Prime Minister set up a committee of Ministers to consider the question. Some tension continued and towards the end of the month, with the issues still unresolved, there was a recrudescence of zealot hooliganism in Jerusalem. Another cause of this was the unedifying manoeuvring leading up to the election of an Orthodox Mayor of the New City. The election of the mayors of other towns was completed during the month.

15. The opposition parties too have their troubles. There are many signs that tension has increased within Mapam between the pro-Cominform group and those with whom Zionism comes first. Herut, the right wing extremist party, has reaffirmed its desire for a neutral stand in world affairs, and in Mr. Begin's absence two leading members of the party who advocate a pact with the United States, Mr. Hillel Kook and Mr. Eri Jabotinsky, have seceded. The extreme Orthodox Agudat Israel is also rent by schism.

16. In January, 13,002 immigrants came to Israel, 700 more than in December. Increasing concern was felt at the plight of the Jews in Iraq, and following the Iraq Government's decision to stop the emigration of Jews at the end of May this year, the

government and the Jewish Agency decided on 30th January to treble the rate of immigration from Iraq and to bring in 13,500 a month, thereby increasing the total monthly immigration to about 20,000. In the present shortage of funds, of jobs and of accommodation, this increase presents a most serious problem.

17. Arab affairs have been discussed in the Knesset on one or two occasions with Mr. Toubi (Communist) as the Arab champion. Mapam have opened an Arab branch at Nazareth.

18. The controversy over the export of the citrus crop took a better turn on 11th January, when picking was resumed on the strength of assurances from the government, and the season is now at its height. A strike by metal workers in ten factories has been countered by a lock-out in twenty others, putting between them 1,500 out of work, and a general lock-out in the industry is threatened. The government have, after a long delay, announced the setting up of an investigating committee. In an economic debate on 1st January the Minister of Finance asked for the linking of wages to productivity, but a reference by the non-party Minister of Trade and Industry to a possible wage-freeze was very coolly received.

19. Electricity and cement have remained short during the month, an acute shortage of newsprint has developed and the prevailing fine weather in January threatens the country with crop and water shortages next summer. The Minister of Agriculture went on a mission of procurement to the United States.

20. Relations between the government and Jewish organisations abroad continue to give rise to complaints from prominent American Jews. Dr. Goldmann in New York has demanded the recognition by the Israel Government of the Zionist Organisation as representative of all Jews outside Israel, and the giving to it of the necessary status. Dr. Neumann, the United States Zionist leader, has arrived in Israel to confer with General Zionist leaders. The Jewish Agency have appointed a committee to investigate the Agency's legal position inside Israel.

No. 8

POLITICAL SITUATION

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Bevin.

(No. 97)

Tel Aviv,

3rd March, 1951.

I have the honour to inform you that, following the rift between Mapai and the Religious *Bloc* in the coalition, the causes of which I described in my despatch No. 284 of 1st November, 1950, Mr. Ben Gurion's Government was defeated in the Knesset on 14th February and immediately resigned. Efforts to form another Government commanding a majority in the present Knesset having failed, it is now virtually certain that general elections will be held in June, and that in the meantime the present Cabinet will continue in office.

2. Though the problems at issue are fundamental, the immediate cause of the crisis seems trivial. At present there exists everywhere except in the immigrant camps four alternative systems, or "trends," of education, the General (liberal), the Histadruth (trade union), the Mizrachi (moderate religious) and the Agudist (extreme religious). In immigrant camps there is a choice only between a general secular education and religious education, and for Yemeni immigrants there is no choice at all, since they are compelled to have the religious education which most of them in fact desire. In the work camps (*ma'abrot*) which were established last summer and which have in practice largely supplanted the immigrant camps, Mapai insisted on the operation of the four trends. They were however willing that the Yemenis in the *ma'abrot* should have only a religious education, provided that the Histadruth religious sub-trend was also recognised for this purpose. The Religious *Bloc* denounced this as fraudulent and the crisis came when the Minister of Education introduced in the Knesset on 5th February his proposals for education, which had just before been approved by a majority of the Cabinet. In the ensuing full dress debate the Religious *Bloc* fiercely maintained their opposition, and when a vote was taken they were joined by all the opposition parties. Only the Sephardim voted with Mapai, who were defeated by forty-nine votes to forty-two. The Prime Minister at once announced the resignation of the Government. In doing so he suggested that the final solution might lie in a unified system of State education, a policy in which he is ahead of his own party

(Received 8th March)

but which already has the declared support of the General Zionists, Herut and the Progressives.

3. After the Government's resignation the President received separately representatives of the various parties in an endeavour to find someone capable of forming a Government commanding a majority in the present Knesset. It was however obvious from the outset that Mr. Ben Gurion had made up his mind, that no Government could be formed without him, and that therefore these efforts would be unsuccessful. An attempt by Mr. Ben Gurion to form a caretaker Government without the Religious *Bloc* likewise failed, and on the 21st the Knesset added the question of new elections to the agenda and asked its Legislation Committee to prepare Bills for the dissolution of the First Knesset and for new elections. Finally on the 25th President Weizmann went through the motion of addressing a letter to the Prime Minister in which he asked him for a last effort to find some way of avoiding new elections, which would be untimely and unfortunate. The Prime Minister, who since he tendered his resignation on 14th February has seen the President only once, and that for a short time on 21st February, replied on 27th February with a typical letter in which he claimed that further efforts would be vain and concluded that if the President could find nobody else capable of forming a Government enjoying the confidence of the Knesset the provision of the "Small Constitution" of 1949 would become operative obliging the present Government to continue in office pending the holding of elections.

4. In this letter which, with the President's one, he immediately issued to the press, Mr. Ben Gurion pointed out that the First Knesset was not an ideal instrument for stable government, that Israel had inherited from the *Diaspora* an excessive tendency to form splinter groups and that twenty-one lists had been submitted to the electors at the first national elections for a population of only 700,000. For obvious reasons two parties in the Knesset, the Communists and Herut, could not be invited to join a Government. Two others, Mapam and the General Zionists, both of whom had participated in the provisional

Government, had declined to join the Government because the majority would not permit the minority to dictate its policy. The opposition, both on the Left and on the Right, had not limited their attacks to words but had engaged in destructive activities, including demonstrations on the one hand and stoppages of work and lock-outs on the other, while slanderous propaganda was carried on abroad. The Religious *Bloc* in their turn were accused of exercising pressure over purely secular matters. Yet in spite of all these difficulties real progress had been achieved. What the State now required was a stable Government which would not need to work on a day-to-day basis but could carry out a long-term plan.

5. The ball is therefore back with the ailing President who however is powerless and the next move is likely to be made by the Speaker of the Knesset who next week will probably announce that the present Government should be regarded as a transitional one and continue to serve until elections can be held. This will not be so easy as it sounds, although behind the scenes preliminary steps towards elections have doubtless been taken during the leisurely and unrealistic formal proceedings of the past fortnight. The Knesset must vote its own dissolution, an electoral law must be passed, and finally an electoral roll must be prepared. Granted the 60-70 per cent. increase in the population since the last elections in January 1949, this last will be no simple matter and it is clear that the three months between now and June will be no more than adequate for the purpose. An interesting point affecting the electoral roll has however already emerged, namely that probably all residents of Israel at a fairly recent date will have the right to vote. Should this be so, the suffrage of the settled Arab population, representing approximately 10 per cent. of the present population of Israel, will be an important factor and, for the time being at least, may induce the leading Government party to be more practically sympathetic to Arab grievances than has hitherto been the case.

6. In other respects also Mr. Ben Gurion may not find his path altogether easy. Neither his present tactics, skilful though they may well prove, nor his letter to the President summarised above is likely to have increased his popularity with the public or with any one of the other parties. Yet it is inconceivable that Mapai should emerge from the coming elections with an absolute majority. They will probably

emerge as the strongest single party but present indications are that they may be followed more or less closely by the General Zionists and that a coalition Government between these two parties is the most probable outcome. Should this be so, and even if Mr. Ben Gurion succeeds in his obvious attempt to fight the elections on the education issue rather than on the economic and financial ones which are those most urgently confronting Israel to-day, he will when the time comes find the General Zionists tougher bargainers on stronger ground than the Religious *Bloc* and will almost certainly be obliged to accommodate himself to their demands.

7. On the other hand, there are factors in his favour, the first being the opening to fight on the education or religious issue. Almost equally important is the discredit into which Mapam, the Left-wing Socialist Party, has fallen through its increasing identification with the Cominform mentality. Within the past month three sections of the party have each issued a platform for the party conference due to be held shortly which reflect wide differences of opinion and, though all call for good relations with Soviet Russia, are unanimous almost only in condemning the Israel Communist Party! Again, Herut, the extreme Right-wing party, is divided within itself, and it is evident that the Religious *Bloc* is by no means united. In fact, Mapai and the General Zionists are to-day the only major Israel parties with any claim to unity.

8. Meanwhile the Prime Minister and his party have proceeded to widen the breach between themselves and the Religious *Bloc* by introducing into the Knesset an amendment to the Defence Service Law which would compel women called up for the armed forces, and who have religious scruples, to work in agriculture or social welfare, and would deny them the right to be entirely exempted from service on conscientious grounds. This amendment is being vigorously opposed not only by the Religious *Bloc* but also by the Chief Rabbinate and great efforts are being made to work up feeling against it. The gratuitous introduction of this issue at the present time lends further colour to the view that Mr. Ben Gurion is intent on fighting the elections on the issue of the enforcement of orthodoxy rather than on other grounds. A straw pointing in the same direction is the publicity being given this week to attacks by zealots in Jerusalem on motor

vehicles circulating, or claimed to have been circulating, on the Sabbath. Such acts of vandalism are certainly on the increase and suggest either that the orthodox leaders are going to extremes or that they have lost control over some of their followers. In either event Mr. Ben Gurion may be expected to do all he can to exploit such activities for his political ends though at the moment the police seem to be singularly slow in taking action against the offenders.

9. Much of the recent rise in feeling can be ascribed to pre-election activity. Even so I feel myself that the internal position is not as stable as it was. The differences now on the surface are not new. Indeed, some of them are fundamental. But whereas six months ago I should have expected most of the parties readily to sink their individual differences in the common interest, it seems to me that the divisions have since hardened and that in many instances the common interest is beginning to take second place. I have no doubt that, if the State were threatened from outside, it would still unite. But dissension is about

and a strong hand is going to be required to deal with it. With a divided Government in power for the next three months, and each party playing for election position, at a time when the economic situation is daily becoming more difficult, this firm control will be needed more than ever. The coming months will certainly tax Mr. Ben Gurion's skill and determination very hard. He may emerge triumphant. Yet it is not certain that he will. If he does not, the consequences will be serious because there is no one of his calibre about. If he does, and provided the General Zionists exercise on him the restraint which is desirable, Israel's internal political structure may emerge from the elections on a sounder basis. At the moment Mr. Ben Gurion is certainly confident enough and I understand that he is going forward with his plans to visit the United States early in May to launch the 500 million dollar bond issue and then to return in time to wind up the election campaign.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

ER 1013/3

No. 9

MONTHLY REPORT ON ISRAEL FOR FEBRUARY 1951

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Bevin. (Received 8th March)

(No. 96. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir,
3rd March, 1951.

I have the honour to forward a general report on Israel for February, 1951.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jeddah, Karachi and to the head of the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

Enclosure in No. 9

Monthly Report on Israel for February 1951

General

A landmark in the development of Anglo-Israel relations was reached with the visit of the Commander-in-chief, Middle East Land Forces, from 19th to 22nd February. Although the visit was given out to be a courtesy one it was universally realised that General Robertson's object was to discuss

Israel's relationship with the defence of the Middle East.

2. Tension between Israel and Jordan was eased when the Mixed Armistice Commission disposed of a large number of complaints including the Elath road dispute.

3. Disagreement between the Mapai and Orthodox partners in the Coalition Government came to a head in the resignation of the Government on 14th February.

4. All these matters, and the prominent headlines given to the exchanges between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union, have distracted attention from a further deterioration in Israel's economic position.

Foreign Relations

5. On 19th February General Sir Brian Robertson, Commander-in-chief, Middle East Land Forces, arrived on a three-day visit to Israel in the course of which he had two important talks with the Prime Minister in Jerusalem. The ground had been well prepared, and few events since the foundation

of the State have aroused greater interest. Mapam and the Israel Communist Party, in their own names and in the guise of the "Peace Committee," did their best to whip up public hostility to the general's visit, but with scant success. Demonstrations organised in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa were feeble and poorly attended. With the exception of the extreme Left wing and, to a lesser extent, the Herut Party, public opinion accepted the need for the study of defence questions. The Foreign Minister told the Knesset that Israel could not afford to wipe herself off the world map by closing her gates to those who wanted to establish contact with her, and a Government spokesman declared after General Robertson had left that he had asked for no undertakings and had been given none. In the course of his conversations with the Commander-in-Chief the Prime Minister said that at least 80 per cent. of the people of Israel understood that they must soon cast their lot with the West.

6. The visit of His Majesty's Minister and General Robertson to the Prime Minister were the first to be made by representatives of His Majesty's Government to an Israel authority in Jerusalem and were taken as constituting the *de facto* recognition by His Majesty's Government of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

7. The alarm and distrust of American policy aroused by earlier events in the Far East have tended to diminish with the stabilising of the United Nations' positions in Korea and with a better understanding of American intentions, both in the Far East and the Middle East. The arrival of the new American Ambassador, Mr. Monnett Davis, followed by the signature of a Point Four Assistance agreement on 26th February have served to recall the importance to Israel of United States financial and technical aid.

8. Relations with Jordan, after lying uneasily dormant all through January, erupted into activity on 6th February. At the Mixed Armistice Commission on that day the Jordan delegate rejected two alternative proposals by General Riley for settling the dispute over the Elath road (both of which awarded about two-thirds of the disputed section to Israel) and asserted that unless all the disputed section were awarded to Jordan his Government would appeal to the Security Council. Meanwhile he refused to discuss any other matter and a state of deadlock was reached.

9. Just before there had been a number of unusually serious allegations of shooting and border raiding on both sides; and on 7th February a party of Israelis, apparently as an act of revenge blew up the Mukhtar's house at Sarafat in Jordan, killing ten persons. The Jordan representative demanded an emergency meeting of the Mixed Armistice Commission, but the Israel representative refused to discuss this outrage (which was never really denied from the Israel side) except on the conditions that the Jordanian withdrew his refusal of the previous day to discuss any matter but the Elath road dispute, and that the new complaint should take its proper place in the list of emergency complaints already on the agenda.

10. At this point the United Nations chairman, Colonel de Ridder, began to take a firm line, while the Jordan Prime Minister, newly returned from the Arab League meetings, was persuaded to issue more accommodating instructions. The Israel Government seems to have done the same and on 14th February the deadlock was broken. The Mixed Armistice Commission settled the Elath road dispute by adopting the first of General Riley's compromise proposals, and on that and the following two days struck more than a hundred complaints off the agenda. It also adopted a new procedure designed to give the United Nations chairman tighter control. On 15th February a meeting between the deputy Chiefs of Staff of each side discussed improved border control. The discussion was afterwards followed up in the Mixed Armistice Commission and elsewhere.

11. As regards Israel's other neighbours, the Syrians raised objections to the beginning of work on the drainage of Lake Huleh inside the demilitarised zone south of the lake; and the Egyptians renewed their demand for the repatriation of the Arabs evacuated last autumn from Migdal Gad, while there were mutual complaints about the Azazme Bedouin.

12. On 22nd February the Ministry for Foreign Affairs presented an aide-mémoire to His Majesty's legation complaining of the proposal of the International Labour Organisation to postpone the regional conference for the Near and Middle East which was to have been held at Tehran early in April. The aide-mémoire attributed the proposed postponement to the decision of the Arab League to boycott the conference because of Israel's participation.

Internal

13. The coalition Government, the precarious position of which was noted in my January report, resigned on 14th February. Efforts to form a new Government have failed and new elections in the summer are now regarded as inevitable. The crisis came to a head on the 5th, when, after lengthy negotiation, the Minister of Education introduced in the Knesset majority proposals for dealing with the education issue. In the final vote, the religious *bloc* sided with the Opposition, and the Government was defeated by 49 to 42.

14. The resignation of the Government was followed by desultory conversations with the President, whose health continues to worsen and who in any case has virtually no constitutional powers. Led by the Prime Minister almost all the parties had made up their minds to elections, and efforts to form an alternative Government were not taken too seriously by the party leaders. Preparations are now in hand for elections in the early summer. The interval is necessary for the enactment of an electoral law and the compilation of a new electoral register covering the thousands of new immigrants. Meanwhile, the present Cabinet is required to remain in office. Relations between the Mapai members and the religious *bloc* have, however, been exacerbated by the introduction of a Bill to conscript for work in immigration camps or in agriculture women who can at present claim exemption from military service. The amendment is bitterly opposed by the religious parties and by the chief rabbinate.

15. While the Cabinet crisis was building up, Mapam decided to hold their party conference early in April and in preparation for this event each of the three factions in the party has produced a manifesto. All three platforms support the Soviet Communist line in world affairs, but it is thought likely that the conference—if held—will reveal a split between those who wish to identify the party openly with the Cominform and those with whom Zionism still comes first.

16. The Histadrut has received a letter from the World Federation of Trade Unions proposing that a W.F.T.U. delegation should visit Israel to resolve the differences which caused the Histadrut to leave the federation. This letter has brought the spotlight on the differences between Mapai and Mapam within the

Histadrut. So far no reply has been sent, but a spokesman has pointed out with some effect that whereas Western Governments have received labour delegations, suggestions that similar visits should be made to Eastern European countries have evoked no response.

Economic and Financial

17. In the last two months there has been a subtle deterioration in the internal economic situation, and there is little sign of its being checked. Many imported food supplies have been on a hand-to-mouth basis, though failures to honour the meat ration have been compensated by better supplies of fish, butter and cheese. Industrial raw materials are in acutely short supply, the shortages which strike the eye are in newsprint and cement. The general impression is that the fruits of the visit of the Minister of Agriculture to the United States to procure supplies did not come up to expectations. He has, however, said that the supply of wheat, fats and essential foods is assured.

18. Attempts to facilitate additional imports of materials for high-cost private building led to an excessive demand for black-market dollars, and the resulting decline in the black-market rates of the Israel pound caused increasing anxiety. There have, too, been occasional signs of discontent among recent immigrants. A peculiar example of this was the sudden flitting of a Yemenite group from their stony settlement on the Galilean hills to an abandoned Arab village fifty miles away in the coastal plain south of Haifa. The squatters were courteously ejected by the inhabitants of the neighbouring (Mapam) *Kibbutzim* to which the Arab village has been allocated.

19. The strike and lockout in the metal-working industry (paragraph 18 of my January report) spread to the whole industry at the beginning of the month, and several thousand workers were idle for over a fortnight. The dispute was settled with the grant of substantial wage increases.

20. A Bill to authorise the American dollar bond issue was approved by the Knesset on 27th February; and during this month the United Jewish and United Palestine Appeals for 1951 were launched in the United States and in Europe. The preliminary results were said to be encouraging.

ER 1013/4

No. 10

MONTHLY REPORT ON ISRAEL FOR MARCH 1951

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 14th April)

(No. 133. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 3rd April, 1951.

I have the honour to forward a General Report on Israel for March 1951.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jeddah, Karachi and to the head of the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

A. K. HELM.

Enclosure in No. 10

Monthly Report on Israel for March 1951

General

Public interest in Israel's defence position, aroused by the events of February, largely subsided in March. Interest shifted to the worsening economic position and to the evident symptoms of economic ill-health. Israel's economic dependence on the United States was re-emphasised when on 22nd March the Israel Ambassador at Washington made an official request for a grant in aid of 150 million dollars.

2. In relations with Jordan the spirit of conciliation born last month seems to be surviving, even if it has so far provided little in the way of positive achievement. Trouble has blown up with Syria as a result of Israel drainage operations at Lake Huleh.

3. The Coalition Government is carrying on at the President's request until elections can be held, probably in July.

4. Action taken by the Iraq Government to freeze the assets of Jews registered for emigration to Israel has caused indignation and the Government has appealed to the United States and the United Kingdom to intervene with the Iraq Government.

Foreign Affairs

5. On 15th March Mr. Shiloah, Special Adviser to the Prime Minister, had a meeting with the Jordan Prime Minister, when the latter produced proposals in writing for the implementation of articles VI and VIII of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Agreement. As they stand these proposals are unacceptable to the Israel Government, whose reply is under consideration.

6. Early in the month minor incidents, with exchanges of fire, occurred on the

Israel-Jordan border and on 7th March an Israel spokesman announced that clashes had occurred between units of the Israel army and large bands of armed Arabs in the Beit Jibrin area. Israel protested to the Mixed Armistice Commission which, after investigation, found that infiltration had occurred into Israel territory but that the Israelis had also been guilty of a breach of the Armistice Agreement in firing at the retreating infiltrators when they were on Jordan territory.

7. An Israel allegation that some 5,000 Bedouin from Sinai had crossed the border in the last few weeks was discussed at a meeting of the Israel-Egyptian Mixed Armistice Commission on 21st March. No agreement was reached, the Egyptians insisting that the nomads rightfully belonged in Israel. The Egyptian demand for the repatriation of Arabs moved from Migdal Gad to Gaza remains on the agenda.

8. Syrian objections to the Israeli drainage operations within the Lake Huleh demilitarised zone have led to shooting. One Israel tractor driver has died of wounds. The Syrians having appealed to the Mixed Armistice Commission, the opinion of the United Nations Chief of Staff was sought on whether the work undertaken constituted a contravention of article II of the Israel-Syrian Armistice Agreement, *i.e.*, whether the drainage work might give "military advantage" to Israel. On 7th March General Riley gave his opinion that the Israelis would derive no military advantage not equally enjoyed by the Syrians. To this, however, he added a rider that neither party had sovereign rights within the demilitarised zone and therefore that until mutual agreement had been reached between the Governments of Syria and Israel Israeli operations should cease.

The Israelis in their turn contended that the Chief of Staff had been invited to give his opinion only on the application of article II and that he was out of order in going beyond this. Israel was therefore determined to uphold her sovereignty in the demilitarised zone. At the end of the month the drainage work was continuing under spasmodic fire from Syrian territory.

9. On 10th March the Iraqi Parliament passed a law freezing the property of all

Jews who had left or had registered their intention to leave for Israel and reducing the cash allowance permitted to emigrants from 50 to 5 dinars. The news aroused general indignation in Israel and the press called upon the Government to rouse world opinion against what it described as an act of spoliation by a member State of the United Nations. The Minister for Foreign Affairs announced in the Knesset on the 19th that the value of Jewish property frozen in Iraq would be set against the compensation payable by Israel for Arab abandoned property. At the same time he said that emigration from Iraq would be stepped up to 20,000 a month. The following day Mr. Sharret handed to His Majesty's Minister an *aide-mémoire* requesting the good offices of His Majesty's Government in ensuring the safety of Iraqi Jews, the liquidation and transfer of their property to Israel and their freedom to emigrate. A similar communication was made to the United States Ambassador.

10. A note claiming that Germany should be required to pay to Israel reparations amounting to 1,500 million dollars for injuries done to European Jewry was delivered to the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and France on 12th March. The Minister for Foreign Affairs told the Knesset the next day that the sum claimed did not include the claims of survivors, but was a collective claim in respect of the property of those who had perished at the hands of the Nazis.

11. The Minister for Foreign Affairs handed an *aide-mémoire* to the American Ambassador on 12th March protesting against the recent release of Nazi war criminals in the United States Zone of Germany. In it the Israel Government is reported to have stated that the action of the United States authorities had largely undone the great achievement of the Nuremberg Trials and had introduced considerations of political expediency into what had been regarded as a judicial and humanitarian issue.

12. On 26th March a parliamentary delegation arrived from the United Kingdom on the invitation of the Speaker of the Knesset. The delegation, consisting of eight Members of Parliament and led by Mr. Glenvil Hall, is spending a week in Israel.

13. Trade union delegations, invited by the Histadrut, arrived from Yugoslavia and Sweden on 1st and 15th March respectively.

Internal

14. Following its defeat in the Knesset last month, the Coalition Government has been asked by the President to carry on until elections can be held. The Opposition claimed that the President's letter, not countersigned by any Minister, was unconstitutional but their efforts to have it debated in the Knesset were unsuccessful. Preparations for the elections continue, though no date for them has yet been fixed. The Prime Minister's letter sent on 27th February to the President in which he set out his reasons for having failed to form another Government has been fiercely attacked by the Opposition as an electioneering document. The Women's Conscription amendment mentioned in paragraph 14 of my General Report for February passed its first reading in the Knesset on 6th March. The Civil Defence Law has now been passed.

15. Between now and the elections the leading Mapai Ministers including the Prime Minister will visit the United States and some other countries to help to raise Zionist funds. Mapai clearly hope to be able to present some striking successes in this field as an electioneering weapon.

16. The position of the Jews in Iraq has led to increased provisions for immigration. 100,000 are to be brought here in the next four months, of whom 70,000 from Iraq. Meanwhile the increased flow is already taxing the resources of the Government and at the moment over 8,000 are accommodated in a Haifa camp with capacity for a maximum of 5,000.

17. The Government's legal adviser has asked for the suspension of immunity of three members of the Knesset who organised demonstrations against General Robertson's visit. Effect is unlikely to be given to it, as an Immunity Bill covering members of the Knesset was introduced on 20th March.

18. At a meeting of the Histadrut executive, on 21st March, Mapai spokesmen urged the rejection of a proposal by the World Federation of Trade Unions to send a delegation to Israel to discuss the reasons for the Histadrut's withdrawal from the W.F.T.U. (see paragraph 16 of February report). Discussion was adjourned to a future session. Rejection of the proposal is almost a foregone conclusion.

Economic

19. The economic situation has continued to deteriorate. In mid-March the free market prices in Tel Aviv for gold and

foreign exchange reached new peaks and some public nervousness developed. In order to combat the inflationary danger, the Government on 26th March outlined to the Knesset a six-point plan which proposed the balancing of both the ordinary and secret security budgets, the expansion of production to a maximum degree, the floating in the local market of savings certificates with redemption guaranteed at the present official dollar exchange rate, a severe restriction on gold trading, the regulation of bank credits, and the reform of the imports without payments scheme.

20. The news that Israel had submitted a request to the United States Government for a \$150 million grant-in-aid, mainly to

buy badly needed consumer goods, was widely publicised. Opinions were divided as to the degree of success which this request might have.

21. The interim six-months budget passed by the Knesset on 28th March, which is intended to fill the gap until a new Government is formed, consisted of ordinary estimates of £1.43·4 million covered by internal revenue and a development budget of £1.35 million to be met from foreign loans and State land bonds. The Knesset also authorised the Finance Committee to adopt the secret defence budget towards which £1.12·5 million was appropriated out of the ordinary budget.

EE 1091/41

No. 11

ISRAEL-SYRIAN RELATIONS

(1)

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 5th April)

(No. 110)
(Telegraphic)

Tel Aviv,
5th April, 1951.

According to to-day's papers, seven Israel policemen were killed, three wounded and one captured on evening of 4th April when police patrol in two vehicles were on routine duty in demilitarised zone salient near El Hamma south-east of Sea of Galilee. Patrol seems to have encountered

road block in narrow gorge but reports are not conclusive whether fire came from within zone itself or from Syrian post, which I am authoritatively informed overlooks road at distance of 20 metres. Press claims that firing was done by Syrian troops who also allegedly fired on United Nations observers.

See my immediately following telegram.

EE 1091/42

(2)

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 5th April)

(No. 111)
(Telegraphic)

Tel Aviv,
5th April, 1951.

My immediately preceding telegram.
When I took Sir A. Kirkbride to call this morning on Mr. Shiloah he had just come from the conference with the Prime Minister and Chief of Staff in Jerusalem. Israelis will certainly take serious view of this affair but Shiloah, who was quite calm, gave no hint of the action which the Israel Cabinet were deliberating while we spoke.

2. Shiloah did say however that the chairman (Frenchman) of the Syrian M.A.C. (who had previously been chairman of the Egyptian M.A.C.) had lost grip and in the Israel view has some responsibility for the recent troubles. The Israel Government would probably ask for his

immediate replacement. It was regretted that both Riley and Dr. Ritter were out of action.

3. I cannot contact the United Nations observers to obtain unbiased statement of facts without sending somebody like the military attaché into the area. This I do not favour. Perhaps the United Nations M.A.C. officials could be contacted in Beirut as I think they have gone there from Jerusalem. Shiloah had little material to add to the press reports. I gather that full report is still awaited from the area which was only reached after midnight.

4. In reply to my question Shiloah did say that though Israel police patrolled the El Hamma salient infrequently, yesterday was not their first visit.

EE 1091/39

No. 12

ISRAEL—SYRIAN RELATIONS

(1)

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 6th April)(No. 112) *Tel Aviv, 6th April, 1951.*
(Telegraphic)

My telegram No. 111.

It is officially announced that Syrian posts in and adjoining demilitarised zone where previous day's attack occurred were bombed last evening by Israel Air Force aircraft in retaliation.

EE 1091/40

(2)

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 6th April)(No. 113) *Tel Aviv, 6th April, 1951.*
(Telegraphic)

My immediately preceding telegram.

Israel Chief of Staff, Secretary-General and Shiloah dined with me last night. Yadin then told me about "retaliatory" Israel action.

2. In the presence of the other two and of the American Counsellor and Sir Alex Kirkbride, I expressed great regret. I remarked that Syrians had appeared to be in the wrong

2. Israel has notified Acting Chief of Staff of refusal to attend further M.A.C. meetings until Syrians stop shooting.

3. Israel is stated to be lodging strong protest with Security Council against flagrant Syrian violation of armistice agreement.

4. Please see my immediately following telegram.

but that by taking the law into her own hands regarding events in the demilitarised zone Israel had in my opinion in turn flagrantly violated the Armistice Agreement. Yadin claimed that Israel could not have her policemen shot on Israel territory without retaliation.

I questioned whether the demilitarised zone was Israel territory and pointed out that the responsibility authority for it is the chairman of the M.A.C.

ER 1571/3

No. 13

AIMS OF THE WORLD ZIONIST MOVEMENT

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 23rd May)(No. 217. Confidential) *Tel Aviv, 17th May, 1951.*

In his despatch No. 215 of 30th August 1950 Mr. Chadwick gave an account of a speech by Mr. Ben Gurion in which he discussed the relationship of American Jews to the State of Israel. This topic was again to the fore recently, at a mid-March meeting of the Mapai Council devoted to an examination of the basic issues of the Zionist movement in preparation for the forthcoming Zionist Congress. The speakers included the Prime Minister and Mr. Berl Locker, the chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive. Their addresses were very different in tone from the assurances given last August to Mr. Blaustein. Mr. Locker said that the aim of Zionism was "the full realisation, in

close partnership with the State of Israel, of the Return to Zion." Mr. Ben Gurion went further than this, saying, "there are Jews who want to come and live in the State but cannot . . . and Jews who are in a position to do so but do not yet wish to. As long, therefore, as these categories of Jews still exist in the Diaspora, Zionist aspirations remain unfulfilled." Mr. Ben Gurion pointed out that though the mass of Jews in Bulgaria, the Yemen, Iraq and Roumania had drawn the right conclusions from the great event which had just occurred in Jewish history, "not everybody who is free to do so has yet drawn these conclusions."

2. It is still officially the policy of the Zionist movement to bring to Israel all the

11½ million Jews in the world or at least a large proportion of them. One of Mr. Locker's four aims which he set out for the World Zionist Movement is "to foster the national consciousness of the Jewish people in the Diaspora; to enable it to acquire the spiritual possessions of the Jewish people past and present, and the Hebrew language and cultural values; and to ensure that education of the younger generation is imbued with the spirit of Zionist fulfilment."

3. Such statements as those made by Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Locker can only in practice refer to the 6 million Jews who still live in the Anglo-Saxon countries and the other million in Europe and Latin America. The 2 million in Soviet Russia are not free to come to Israel. Though official Zionist writings still describe American Jews as being in *galuth*, described as "the raw awareness of being a stranger," I do not think that even Mr. Ben Gurion wants the American Jews to come in large numbers to Israel. Only the other day he said that Israel could not be self-sufficient for many years. Until it is American Jews must cover

ER 1017/17

No. 14

FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF ISRAEL

Results of Mr. Ben-Gurion's Fund-Raising Campaign in the United States

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 13th June)(No. 246. Confidential) *Tel Aviv, 8th June, 1951.*
Sir,

The Israel Prime Minister, Mr. Ben Gurion, returned yesterday from his four-weeks' fund-raising campaign in the United States whither he had been preceded by no less than five of his colleagues—the Ministers of Finance, Labour, Interior, Trade and Industry and Agriculture. The first of these, Mr. Kaplan, remains a casualty on the other side through strain and overwork, the second, Mrs. Myerson, returned in time to attend her husband's funeral, while the sudden death three weeks ago of the Minister of Education further added to the burden carried by the Minister for Foreign Affairs who has deputised for the absent and deceased ministers. Moreover, the benefit for him over most of the period of a Knesset recess was more than nullified, first by the acute frontier trouble with Syria and more recently by the discovery of a Gunpowder Plot in which the Israel Guy Fawkes was a collection of religious zealots. Their

summary treatment at the hands of the police has brought Mr. Sharett and the Mapai party under heavy fire from all sides and provided welcome ammunition for the election campaign which, with polling day less than eight weeks ahead, will now begin in real earnest.

2. The campaign will be bitter, for political party feeling is strong and the Israel Prime Minister hardly lends himself to conciliation. Each of the principal parties will fight alone with Mapai open to attack from all the others as the party holding the reins of power and responsible for Government policy and actions. To some extent it will therefore be on the defensive and for this it carries strong weapons of achievement. It has established the State and secured its frontiers, organised a not-inefficient administration, laid the foundations of a strong defence force, received a flow of immigrants which has doubled the population in three years, and set going capital schemes on a scale which would be remarkable anywhere.

But its opponents will claim that these are the achievements of the people and not of Mapai, and will try to fasten on the latter responsibility for mismanagement, monopoly, nepotism and an economic and financial situation which, if judged by any normal standards, could only be rated as desperate. Here, of course, normal standards do not apply. Yet it is obvious that Mapai's opponents have ample offensive material on which to draw and it would be premature at this stage to try to anticipate how the campaign will develop or what its result will be.

3. Meanwhile Israel has survived what was generally recognised would be the difficult period before the fresh flow of funds from America began. Indeed she has done so with surprising success, for the crisis of confidence which occurred in March was quickly surmounted. By this I do not mean that inflation and its attendant dangers have been overcome. They have not, for prices continue to rise and shortages of food and raw materials remain acute. So much is the latter so that a number of newly completed factories cannot begin to operate and there is a flourishing black market. But a measure of confidence has returned and the Israel pound, though still far below its par value, has for some weeks been relatively steady at a level appreciably higher than its low of three months ago. Credit for this is attributed by the Government to administrative measures such as the suspension of the issue of Treasury Bills. (A fresh issue is recorded this week.) In fact, however, the healing balm has been the expectation and now the beginning of the flow of American dollars.

4. These remain the key to Israel's future and their volume will largely determine, if not the nature of that future, at any rate the pace of its development. That volume had fallen far behind requirements and the bridging of the gap has been the motive of the Ben-Gurion and other transatlantic journeys. Israeli's demands—with nothing of the whining beggar about them—were of no modest nature from a State with a population of less than a million and a half: a bond issue of \$500 million over three years, a richer harvest than the \$90 million of last year from the United Jewish appeal (only about two-thirds of which came to Israel), and a Grant in Aid from the United States Government of \$150 million. No excessive confidence was placed in the last to which Mr. Ben-Gurion seems hardly to have applied himself personally and, though it would be too much to expect the Israelis to

say so, they ought to feel that they are faring rather well under the new United States scheme for economic and other assistance to the Middle East countries. Under the other two heads they also aimed high and, according to local accounts, the Ben-Gurion tour has been a triumphant success. But I am not sure that the published estimates of the proceeds (which are unlikely to err on the side of moderation) altogether bear this out. Even the most optimistic of these do not put the present total of bond pledges above \$55 million, a figure which, after such an intensive campaign, suggests total subscriptions in the first year of not more than \$70 million and perhaps a total over the planned three years of twice that figure. Moreover, and in spite of the general Israeli contention to the contrary, it seems inevitable that the bond drive should to some extent at least compete with the United Jewish Appeal. Expenses also are very heavy—I have just learnt that a very large sum was paid to a highly placed American personality for a recent speech in support of the campaign—amounting as they probably do to not less than 10 per cent. of the amounts collected. Altogether therefore, and exclusive of assistance from the United States Government, it looks to me as if Israel's net receipts from bond and other collections in the United States this year will be of the order of \$120 million if indeed they reach that figure.

5. This is a formidable sum. But, though it will probably suffice for this year, it is far short of the target. And, much more important, it is also short of Israel's requirements on the present basis of planning. But it is the present limit. If therefore the returned confidence is to be maintained effective remedial action will have to be taken, for otherwise the real deficiency will again reveal itself. Such remedial action will be the more necessary with the exhaustion of Israel's sterling balances at the end of the year. It must also be taken here. At first sight there is no room for this otherwise than with the sacrifice of many cherished schemes. I hope to be able shortly to advise more authoritatively on this point when my Commercial Secretary has completed a study on which he is at my request at present engaged. But, in spite of the much trumpeted austerity, my feeling is that there remains much room for economy, not least in the field of transport and defence, and through rationalisation of industry, while a steady if quite inadequate increase of exports can confidently be predicted.

6. That the strain stems principally from unrestricted immigration is a truism. Equally it has of late been accentuated by the flood of Jews from Iraq now nearing its end. Any similar fresh exodus, e.g., from Egypt, would be a crippling blow though it would certainly be taken. Next after immigration comes defence under which head some relief may be forthcoming under the United States assistance scheme but which must remain a heavy burden so long as the Arab States refuse to make peace and Israel accordingly considers herself threatened. Lastly in the same line of thought is the Arab boycott, the absolute effects of which are no greater than they have been. But relatively these effects have perhaps become greater as Israel's economic and financial strain has increased and they are likely to become more insistently felt as Israel requires markets for surpluses from her expanding industry.

7. I do not mean that Arab hostility and the Arab boycott will cause a breakdown—that will come only if for one reason or another world Jewry fails to support Israel during the years immediately ahead. But they are factors which cannot be ignored and it is obvious that the longer they operate the greater will be the call on world Jewry and the need for austerity here. Both will, I think, be borne and I am convinced that Israel will not make spectacular concessions in order to obtain the Arab peace. Meanwhile, however, the population rises rapidly and an economy is being built up which has no Arab affiliations. This may not realise all the hopes placed in it, but it is most unlikely to fail completely and I think it will work in some way. Should it do so, and unless the Israeli character should change, even the Israel will for peace

on the basis of the *status quo* might disappear and Israel in fact become the menace which so many of the Arab leaders profess to see in it to-day. Then, with the bitterness engendered by years of struggle in the face of encircling enmity, a policy of securing respect for existing boundaries would be infinitely more difficult to maintain.

8. It is outside my province to judge the interests of the Arab States. But even they cannot ignore the presence here of a million and a quarter dynamic Jews who can go nowhere else and who, even if they conquered them militarily, they would try to absorb at their peril. They can blame His Majesty's Government for the policy which led directly to the establishment of the Jewish State. But that state is a fact which, however hard, I think the Arabs would do well to accept. Whether they do or not it will, unless defeated at their hands, continue to exist. Nevertheless it is going to find things very difficult in 1952. Peace with the Arab States by that time would greatly ease the strain; it might also have a decisive influence on the policy of a rapidly developing Israel which if deferred might come too late. That peace is to-day needed by Israel and she wants it. Unfortunately there seems to be no such corresponding need or desire on the other side. Yet the problem exists and is, I venture to think, of great concern to other interested parties.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Ankara, Alexandria, Bagdad, Beirut, Damascus, Amman and Jeddah, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

A. K. HELM.

ER 1017/20

No. 15

KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT DISPUTES

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 15th June)

(No. 252. Restricted) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 12th June, 1951.

I have the honour to inform you that a dispute between Mapai and Mapam members of the federation of collective settlements known as the *Kibbutz Meuchad* ("The United Federation") has resulted in the splitting of the federation and the secession of the Mapai minority.

2. The *Kibbutz Meuchad* was the largest federation of *kibbutzim* and included eighty-two collective settlements. A note on it was contained in paragraph (e) of the enclosure in my despatch No. 168 of 23rd November, 1949. It was also the only federation which was not composed very largely of members of one party. Twenty-five of its *kibbutzim* were wholly or largely

Mapai, forty Mapam, and seventeen were about equally divided.

3. Politics are taken very seriously in the *kibbutz* movement and it has been clear for some time that the present bitterness between the two Labour parties was making continued joint communal existence in the *kibbutzim* very difficult. In fact, over the past year quarrels between the two parties within the federation have become increasingly intense.

4. The dispute which finally broke the federation arose from the decision of a majority of the Mapai members of one of the settlements not to accept a group of young Mapam members to full membership, through fear that their admission would alter the political balance within the settlement. The *Kibbutz Meuchad* Council, meeting at Petah Tiqva six weeks ago, voted against this local decision and ordered the settlement to accept the group. The Mapai majority in the *kibbutz* persisted in its refusal and proceeded to establish two separate children's houses in the *kibbutz* for the children of Mapai and Mapam members respectively. This decision was taken on the recommendation of the Mapai-dominated Agricultural Centre of the Histadrut. In the meantime the Mapai members of another settlement decided to split up into two separate *kibbutzim*. The council decided that if they pressed their claim they would be expelled from the movement.

5. The council, which had a Mapam majority, met again in mid-May and decided to order the Mapai members of the two offending *kibbutzim* to reverse their decisions to establish separate children's houses and classes and split their *kibbutz*. The fifty-four Mapai members of the council abstained from voting. Another resolution carried by the Mapam majority called for the expulsion of Mapai members of the two *kibbutzim* who failed to obey the council's orders. The Mapai members of the council thereupon announced that they regarded themselves as expelled from the organisation, and left the meeting to hold a separate conclave.

6. Next day Mr. Baruch Eisenstadt, a Mapai member of the Knesset and one of the leaders of the *Kibbutz Meuchad* federation until the split, told the press that a new national organisation of Mapai *kibbutzim* would be formed and a round-table conference proposed to discuss problems arising in mixed *kibbutzim*. This decision affected about one-third of the 15,000 full members of the *Kibbutz Meuchad*.

7. This Mapai conference met on 2nd June. The Minister of Agriculture, himself a *kibbutz* member, attended to give his blessing. Speakers claimed that the *Kibbutz Meuchad* had harnessed itself to an opposition party and drifted away from the Histadrut and the State. It was, they said, attempting to live on doctrines imported from abroad and to interfere with the freedom of the individual, and an atmosphere had developed which made it impossible for the members of the two Labour parties to live together under one roof. They announced that the new movement would serve the Histadrut and the State, the "ingathering of the exiles" and a pioneering and Socialist zionism. The member *kibbutzim* must be open to every worker and member of the Histadrut regardless of his politics and must work together with the Hever Hakvutzot, an existing Mapai federation. Twenty-one settlements had by then joined the movement, which was named the Socialist Zionist Kibbutz Association (*Ihud Hakibbutzim Hazionim-Sozialistim*) and four more were expected to join soon after. One well-known *kibbutz* member who urged the formation of a single economic framework for all labour settlements irrespective of their political affiliation appears to have found no support.

8. In labour circles the split is widely regretted. Many people feel that it is wholly wrong for political disputes to be allowed to hamper and thwart the work of pioneering and agricultural development. Not for the first time members of settlements who have lived in the same *kibbutz* for twenty or thirty years and have helped to develop it from a rocky or sandy waste into a green oasis, will have to leave and join some new settlement. Even families are divided amongst themselves and the whole development is a measure of the cleavage which has arisen between Mapam and Mapai and of the strength of feeling actuating the respective protagonists.

9. In my despatch No. 251 of 11th June I dealt with the recent Mapam Congress and with the party's election platform which emerged from it. That in essence was an attempted compromise (as if that were possible) with the line of the Cominform and to my mind foreshadowed the disappearance of the more moderate minority. To it the Mapam members of the *Kibbutz Meuchad* largely belong. The schism in the latter (whose Mapai members apparently made no attempt to shirk the issue) tends therefore to confirm my view that the chances of that

minority being attracted to Mapai and breaking away from Mapam are small. It also seems to me to strike a serious blow at the roots of the *kibbutz* movement whose general popularity and appeal have in any

event waned considerably since I came here two years ago.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

ER 1572/8

No. 16

JEWISH IMMIGRATION

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 11th July)

(No. 271)

Sir,

Tel Aviv,

5th July, 1951.

With reference to my despatch No. 16 of 16th January I have the honour to inform you that 129,398 Jewish immigrants entered Israel during the first six months of 1951, making a total of about 639,000 since the establishment of the State. The monthly figures were as follows:—

January	...	13,002
February	...	14,590
March	...	21,700
April	...	30,384
May	...	26,324
June	...	23,398
		129,398

2. These figures indicate clearly the great increase in the rate of immigration since special measures to deal with the Iraqi Jews were initiated in February. For the whole twelve months of 1950 the total Jewish immigration was only about 169,000. From March onwards, when the Iraq Government refused to extend the period allowed for emigration and, on the contrary, confiscated the property of all Jews registered for departure, the Jewish Agency were obliged to bring Iraqis in by air at an unprecedented rate. During May 17,000 came from Iraq, and about the same number in June. Of the 105,000 Jews who registered to emigrate from Iraq to Israel, nearly all have now arrived.

3. The Iraq Government's deadline was the beginning of July and from now on the general rate of immigration is likely to drop. Mr. Raphael, head of the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency, estimates that between 80,000 and 90,000 will arrive in the second half of this year. The largest immigration, estimated at 45,000, is expected from Roumania, whence, despite the disabilities of the Zionist movement, there is still a steady flow of Jewish emigration. In the first five months of 1951, 21,604 Rou-

manian immigrants arrived, all in the s.s. *Transylvania*, at considerable profit to the Roumanian Government. According to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, proposals for the participation of Israel-flag ships to accelerate the pace of this movement were rejected by the Roumanian authorities. Now preparations are being made for an increased immigration from Persia, where the urge towards Israel has long attracted sympathetic notice, though it has been held in check by the Jewish Agency. Recent manifestations of Persian nationalism have led to an expectation that the whole Jewish community there, now numbering about 70,000, may emigrate to Israel. Recently immigrants have been coming from Persia by air at the rate of about 1,000 a month, the total since the establishment of the State being now about 20,000. Of the 70,000 who remain about half are believed to be in Tehran and of these some 3-4,000 in the Jewish Agency camp outside the city. Included in the Persian figures are Jews from Afghanistan and Kurdistan.

4. The recent forcible removal of "untrustworthy elements" from Budapest to remote parts of Hungary has resulted in a considerable increase in the number of Jews attempting to leave Hungary for Israel, and it is reported that about 500 people are applying daily to the Israel Legation in Budapest. Before the forced removals the Jewish Agency estimated that only about 1,000 immigrants would come from Hungary in the next six months. The Israel Consul in Munich is also arranging for 200 Jews a month to leave Germany for Israel.

5. The flow of immigrants seems likely to continue uninterruptedly for some time to come. As soon as one threatened community is brought in another is found to be in difficulties and steps have to be taken to rescue it. The effect on the situation in Israel is, of course, profound. The Jewish population, which in May 1948 numbered only 650,000, has since doubled. Yet it is

worthy of note that the total population of present-day Israel is still only little above that of the same area before the departure of the half million odd Arab refugees. The neighbouring Arab States see in this mounting pressure of Jewish population a threat to their continued existence though in spite of this the Iraq Government have found their own means of increasing it. In Israel itself the economic problems created are immense; so are the social problems. The structure of the Jewish population has been changed, and there is now a much higher proportion of oriental Jews. Between 15th May, 1948 and 15th May, 1951, 310,000 Jewish immigrants arrived from oriental countries including North Africa, Iraq and the Yemen, and 276,000 from Western countries including Europe, America and the British Commonwealth. Up till 1948 there had only been comparatively few oriental Jews in Palestine and the bulk of the immigrants had come from Eastern Europe and

from Germany. The main countries of origin of arrivals during the first three years of the State's existence were:—

Orientals (310,000)		
Iraq	...	90,000
Yemen	...	45,000
Turkey	...	33,000
Persia	...	20,000
French North Africa	...	37,000
Libya	...	25,000
Europeans (276,000)		
Poland	...	103,000
Roumania	...	47,000
Bulgaria	...	36,000
Hungary	...	14,000
Yugoslavia	...	7,000

During the same period about 10,000 newcomers emigrated again from Israel.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

ER 1103/9

No. 17

ECONOMIC POSITION OF ISRAEL

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 18th July)

(No. 280 E)
Sir,

Tel Aviv,
10th July, 1951.

In my despatch No. 246 of 8th June I sketched some general ideas of my own about Israel's financial and economic position as seen on the conclusion of the Prime Minister's fund-raising campaign in the United States. Some time earlier it had seemed to me desirable to have a reliable and objective up-to-date picture of the real progress of Israel's much publicised agricultural and industrial development and of the fruits which might be expected therefrom in the years immediately ahead. I therefore charged my commercial secretary with the preparation of such a report and now have the honour to enclose Mr. Wraight's resulting memorandum describing "the Israel Economic Scene."

2. Mr. Wraight summarises his general conclusions in his closing five paragraphs. I suggest, however, that the entire memorandum will merit study. It provides in condensed form an assessment of an experiment which defies economic laws but which seems unlikely to fail. Mr. Wraight shows the many stresses to which it is subject—lack of natural resources, less promising human material than before, a developing inflation,

makeshift organisation and standards of wages and of living which the economy cannot afford. At the same time Mr. Wraight indicates directions in which economies could be effected without serious damage to the Government's long-term plans. Military and transport expenditure head the list of these. Not far behind come more and better production and a lowering of the relatively high standard of living. This last, however, it is a cardinal point of Israel policy to maintain. Yet, unless dollar receipts from the United States reach totals appreciably higher than present indications suggest, measures of economy on a considerable scale will be necessary. It remains to be seen whether the Government, to emerge from the coming election, will have the foresight and the courage seriously to embark upon them.

3. Not the least interesting point brought out by Mr. Wraight in his memorandum is his relation in paragraph 3 of the figures of new Jewish immigrants to those of departed Arabs. It is perhaps not so widely appreciated as it should be that, leaving aside the more exaggerated estimates of the total of the Arab refugees from what is now Israel, the two are roughly the same, and that of

the 650,000 new Jewish immigrants only 10 per cent. have gone on the land, not all of them to engage in agriculture. Yet most of the Arabs were peasants and villagers and the figures quoted provide their own comment on often-heard allegations of present-day land hunger in Israel.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

Enclosure in No. 17

The Israel Economic Scene

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Population and immigration

In the first three years of the State, Israel's Jewish population has doubled. To-day the total population is $1\frac{1}{2}$ million, of whom about 175,000 are Arabs. It is rising by nearly a quarter of a million per annum, for the continued immigration is supplemented by the crude natural rate of increase, which is now running at 26 per thousand.

2. The absorption of the 650,000 new immigrants has been the biggest task the State has had to face. Over half of them have settled in the towns setting up small workshops or engaging in commerce, industry or the public services. Some 12 per cent. have gone on to the land, though only part of these to live on agriculture alone. One in ten are either social cases or persons unable to work, while nearly a quarter are in the army, are engaged in building or, while awaiting more permanent employment, are dependent on public works such as road construction and afforestation.

3. The influx of newcomers into Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem has been enormous, causing inevitably congestion and over-crowding. Tel Aviv's population is now 350,000. Most small towns have grown even more rapidly. Since May 1948, the populations of Safad and Nahariya in the north and of Beersheba in the south have quadrupled, that of Afula in the Plain of

Esdrælon has trebled, and those of Nathanya and Herzlia, on the coast, doubled. Former Arab towns such as Ramle and Lydda are, wherever houses are not destroyed, now filled to overflowing with Jewish immigrants. Yet the total of these post-State immigrants is roughly the same as the total of the Arabs who fled in 1948—an indication of the change which has occurred in the distribution of the same total population.

4. Some of the 65,000 persons who have gone on to the land have been drafted to old agricultural settlements. Most have gone into new ones, mainly in Galilee and in the coastal plain though, partly for strategic reasons, 50 of the 250 new settlements established since 1948 are in the Jerusalem corridor and some 25 in the Negev. The number of persons in settlements in the Negev (excluding Beersheba) is now 6,500 compared with 580 at the beginning of the State.

5. The first of the immigrants were housed mainly in Haifa and Jaffa and in abandoned Arab villages. Later ones, after waiting months in camps, were given tiny concrete dwellings. But in spite of the fact that half of all current investment is being spent on housing and 50 per cent. more dwellings were completed last year than in 1949, the problem of finding adequate shelter for the newcomers is still far from solved. Over 180,000 persons are now in temporary quarters and there will be 220,000 by the end of the year. Almost every few miles throughout the countryside can be seen untidy sprawls of tents, tiny tin huts, wooden prefabricated houses, and concrete structures often half finished for lack of cement, timber or electric wire and fittings.

Agricultural Development

6. The housing shortage has had a retarding effect on the rate of agricultural development, although the lack of trained leaders for new settlements, available quantities of farm and irrigation equipment, and the incompatibility of most immigrants to farm work, have been more important factors. Even so, some £1.70 million have been invested in agriculture and, though only part of this has yet shown a return, the progress achieved in three years has been considerable. Three tasks have been tackled simultaneously: the reconstruction of agricultural settlements damaged during the Arab war, the taking over of abandoned Arab lands and new cultivation and settlement. Compared with May 1948, land under cultivation has increased fourfold to

3½ million dunams (4 dunams = 1 acre) though much of this area had been worked in mandatory days by Arabs, the number of tractors has risen from 550 to 3,500, wheat production from 13,000 to 44,000 tons, vegetables from 78,000 to 215,000 tons, milk output from 80 million to 117 million litres, fish (mainly fish pond carp) from 2,500 to 6,000 tons and the total value of agricultural production (except citrus) from £I. 27 million to £I. 49 million.

7. Citrus production, which was badly disrupted by the Arab war, is recovering slowly though two-thirds of the abandoned Arab groves have been written off. 3·9 million cases were exported in the 1948-49 season, 4·3 million in 1950-51 and the prospects are encouraging for a possible 5·5 million next season. A return to the pre-war export average (12·5 million cases, 1936-39) cannot be expected for another seven or eight years when the new groves now being planted should begin to bear.

8. Land under irrigation has been increased from some 250,000 to 380,000 dunams. A central pumping station built in the Negev now brings 15 million cubic metres of water to the Beersheba area compared with 3 million last year. Some 50,000 dunams of hitherto uncultivable land have been improved and reclaimed. An ambitious afforestation programme is under way. It is intended that forest reserves shall cover 1 million dunams, and at the present rate of increase in nursery production this aim should be fulfilled in from ten to fifteen years. Considerable progress has been made with soil conservation and sand-dune fixing. Goat grazing on pasture lands is forbidden. Agricultural research has been expanded. Linseed, groundnuts, sunflower and sugar-beet are to be sown on a commercial scale. A pilot plant for flax spinning is being set up and plans for a beet sugar refinery are well advanced.

9. By contrast, Arab agriculture has progressed little. In Galilee, near the foothills of Gilboa, it is still a common sight to see Jewish tractors and Arab wooden ploughs at work in adjacent fields. The value of Arab production is about one-tenth of Jewish but loans granted to Arab villagers by the Ministry of Agriculture were only:—

£I. 13,000 in 1948
£I. 70,000 in 1949 and
£I. 100,000 in 1950

One Arab kibbutz (communal settlement) and a Government-sponsored Arab market-

ing organisation have been established, but Arab farmers generally are badly in need of expert advice and of replacements for the livestock, property and equipment destroyed during the 1948 war.

10. In spite of current agricultural progress, Israel is not and probably never will be self-supporting in food. With the aid of strict rationing, the increase in food output has enabled food imports *per capita* to be reduced from £I. 21·4 in 1949 to £I. 18·7 in 1950 when local production supplied practically all of Israel's requirements of milk, eggs, vegetables and fruit, two-thirds of its potatoes, one-third of its meat and fish and one-sixth of its bread and fats. But the cost of local production is high. There is naturally a big difference between the old and the new settlements. The old ones have made big strides in the past three years and most are paying well. In the kibbutzim, for example, there were in 1947 11,900 active workers compared with 12,200 in 1950. In 1947, each worker on the average cultivated, *inter alia*, about 2 acres of cereals and tended fourteen chickens; in 1950 he cultivated 5 acres of cereals and tended twenty-six chickens. But the low productivity of the newcomers, mostly unused to agriculture, greatly outweighs the extra production achieved by the old settlers.

11. Israel has natural advantages for vegetable growing but is not an efficient producer of eggs, milk or cheese, and grain yields are still low although in 1950 the yield from wheat, at 7 cwt. an acre, was more than double that for the whole of Palestine in 1934-38. The cost of barley sown this year on 500,000 dunams of low rainfall land in the northern Negev (this area is to be doubled next year) has been estimated at £45 per ton. Certainly, the aim of the settlements is not to achieve a profit but to maintain the largest number of people on the land on a European standard. Their technical success has been due mainly to the financial resources at their disposal, and much of their capital expenditure, coming from free contributions by world Jewry, could, in effect, be ignored when costs of production were calculated.

12. Financial resources are now, comparatively, more limited. At the same time, an increasing amount of farm development is being met from repayable credits from the United States Export-Import Bank and, soon by interest-bearing bonds from the Independence Loan. Thus, not only must the question of costs become

more important, but the best possible use must be made of the money available. Experience shows that in Israel investment in agriculture, over a certain minimum level, is subject to the law of diminishing returns. Certainly, the more invested the higher can be the standard of living; but at present a quick rise in output at the lowest cost possible is of primary importance. Yet the authorities still, wherever they can, think in terms of living standards equal to the latest Western models. Thus immigrants are kept on public works until a full range of farm equipment is available to enable them to be settled in agriculture.

13. Apart from the shortage of equipment, the unsuitability of most newcomers for work on the land and their unwillingness to pioneer, the "closed shop" attitude of many of the old settlements coupled with the reluctance of the Mapai Government to encourage an increase in Mapam settlements (which constitute half of the total), make an accelerated flow of labour into agriculture a difficult task. But if the Israelis increase their economic problems by unrestricted immigration, they should logically take extraordinary measures to try to solve them. Increased agricultural training and firmer guidance of immigrants onto the land, even without proper equipment, would seem to be needed. Better efforts to share existing machinery might be made. While awaiting a tractor, new settlers might learn from the Arabs how to use a plough. In any case there are hill areas, still uncultivated, where the tractor can never go and this type of country may, apart from the Negev, be before long the only cultivable land left. Again, open irrigation, though less efficient, might suffice until pipes and sprinklers can be obtained. Though the planting of a modern Western community in an oriental setting undertaken by Western people with Western methods is now becoming an experiment in converting orientals into Westerners, the task will take time and the settlers, many of them unused to high living standards, should be content with primitive conditions until the means are available to reach the stage of highly mechanised and intensive farming which is the basis of Israel's economic policy.

Industrial Development

14. Industrial expansion has also been rapid. There has not been the big flow of industrial investment from abroad that was originally expected, but this is improving

and just over half of all new industrial capital is now foreign. About £I. 40 million in all have been invested in industry during the past three years. Some 450 new factories have been built and many existing plants extended. More new enterprises have been established in Tel Aviv than elsewhere; two-thirds of all industry is now in that area. Heavier industries, such as they are, are concentrated at Haifa while new Jerusalem has also become a manufacturing centre. Smaller factory areas are being built up in Acre, Nathanya, Lydda, Ramle and Beersheba. Innumerable small workshops have been set up by new immigrants who, in spite of controls and shortages, have managed to find themselves a place—albeit often an unessential one—in the economy.

15. The light metals, textile, food processing and building materials industries have expanded most, but Israel's range of home manufactures has now been increased to include electric bulbs, electric motors, radios, electrodes, clocks, pencils, artificial resins and plastics, penicillin, mass-produced shoes, steel and aluminium pipes, cork products, industrial leather goods and assembled refrigerators and motor cars. Factories for making motor tyres, rolled steel sheets, concrete pipes, safety glass and nitrogenous fertilisers are in course of erection. Cement production has been doubled and two new works are being built, and output of electric power increased by 80 per cent.

16. In total the volume of industrial output has probably increased by 45 per cent. since 1948; its value last year was £I. 165 million. Capacity has increased much more. The return on capital invested has in many cases been both slower in materialising and less than it might have been. For lack of raw materials many factories are working half time and some are at a standstill. World shortages, plus lack of foreign currency, have increased procurement difficulties and the best use of available resources has not always been made. Some factories, through good overseas connexions, have managed to get materials while others more important to the economy have not. Industrial development has been haphazard, but the Investment Centre is taking an increasingly active part in guiding capital into projects that will quickly reduce the import bill. In plastics, oil and soap, and in part of the textile industry, there is already an excess of capacity over needs. While demand is

growing each month, capital is being tied up unnecessarily.

17. Again, Israel industry is, with some exceptions, handicapped by high costs and low output which a productivity drive has done little to improve. On a very rough average productivity is about 60 per cent. of United Kingdom standards while wages are well above and quality inferior. The shortage of raw materials often makes smooth operation impossible. There are few real industrialists; factory owners have the small man's mentality and their outlook is primarily short-term. In the General Federation of Jewish Labour (the Histadrut) the influence of Mapam weakens the position of the moderate Mapai leaders and slows up full co-operation between the trade unions, the Government and industry. There is a lack of trained technicians, though the Israelis are taking full advantage of the technical assistance offered both by United Nations agencies and by the United States Point-Four Programme. Wages are unjustifiably high but profits are high too and in to-day's seller's market with complete tariff protection the most inefficient producer of uncontrolled goods can make a living. Difficulties in securing materials contribute to high costs. A suit of best English cloth for the export market can be sold for £25 because the import of the materials is freely allowed; the same suit, if for the local market, where import restrictions apply, costs £1.10. An electric cooker factory in Tel Aviv paid last year £1.70 a ton for its steel sheets; now, imports having stopped, it is paying £1.1020 a ton. In the exceptional conditions in Israel to-day a normal healthy growth of industry cannot be expected and in any case an industrial tradition takes years to establish. A useful potential is being built up but much of it is hot-house growth.

Public Works

18. In neither industry nor agriculture has the increase in output kept pace with the rise in population. In part this is due to an inevitable time-lag, in part to lack of capital. Yet, though most reception camps have now been eliminated and immigration flows practically straight from the ship to the ma'abarot or work camps near towns and settlements where immigrants are immediately found work, the statistics show little unemployment. There is of course much disguised unemployment. Public works schemes on roads, drainage

or afforestation employ some 16,000 daily. Output is pitifully low; in addition, with wages at £1.2 a day, many oriental immigrants are satisfied with only two or three days' employment a week. Though useful, much of this work is not essential and the inflationary risk which the schemes encourage is another Government concern.

Transport and communications

19. One result of the public works schemes has been a big expansion of Israel's road network, as part of a general development of communications. There is nevertheless an uncomfortable pressure on public services—the post, telephones and transport—mainly owing to lack of equipment. The number of road vehicles has nearly trebled, thereby causing traffic congestion; but the number of buses has not increased in proportion. A mild zoning scheme for private transport has failed to stop a considerable wastage of petrol. The railway has been brought back fully into service but is still inefficient. Haifa port has been improved but its normal capacity was reached some months ago, and every immigrant adds another two tons a year to the volume of imports. While work has begun on its extension, port congestion and delays in unloading have caused some shipping companies to raise their rates to Haifa by 25 per cent. A jetty at Eilat in the Gulf of Aquaba has been built and connexion made with it by air and by desert road. Neither is of economic importance. An entirely new port is planned for Tel Aviv but at the best will take years to complete. Israel's merchant marine has increased from 6,000 to 100,000 tons (twenty-three ships) and another 40,000 tons is soon to be added. It has so far saved the State some £7 million in foreign currency for freights. Lydda airport has been extended, while El Al, the national airline, now has a fleet of thirty aircraft, five of them four-engined, and last year claimed to have made a small profit.

Changes in foreign trade

20. The expansion of industry and agriculture has brought changes in Israel's foreign trade. Manufactured goods, particularly woollen and cotton textiles, clothing, chocolate and artificial teeth, are beginning to play a useful part in Israel's exports though over half of the latter are still citrus and citrus products. Exports of polished diamonds are recovering their war-time level: they were over £1.3 million

last year. Between 1949 and 1950, *per capita* imports of consumer goods dropped by one-fifth while imports of capital goods rose in the same proportion. As a result of the development of the Negev, local supplies are replacing imports of kaolin and of sand for glass-making; local phosphate rock will soon be available. In eighteen months' time Israel's own production of cement, glass and motor tyres should suffice for most of its needs; Dead Sea potash production may have been restarted.

Trade and payments balances

21. The need to find financial accommodation has caused Israel to turn increasingly to the United States and to Western Europe for its sources of supply to the detriment of its trading relations with Eastern Europe. Even so the deficit on its balance of trade rose from £1.78 million in 1949 to £1.90 million in 1950 and may reach about £1.108 million this year. The sources from which this deficit has been met are well known. They are summarised in the balance of payments for 1949 and 1950 (see below). A rough estimate for 1951 is included.

22. Thus it looks as if Israel may again this year just make ends meet, particularly if the proposed \$25 million under the United States Government's Middle East aid programme is forthcoming. Yet, the latest

efforts to find money abroad have been exceptional. They have included weeks of campaigning in the United States by the Prime Minister and half of the Israel Cabinet, visits by Ministers to half a dozen other countries, as well as such long shots as the application—or "bid" as one local journal more aptly described it—for a \$150 million grant from the United States, and the repatriations claim from Germany. Though the collection for the United Jewish Appeal (U.J.A.) may be as big as last year, the Independence Bond drive, through which it was hoped to raise \$500 million in three years, does not now look like bringing in more than about \$60 million during 1951. At the same time, the rise in the prices of imports has neutralised and surpassed the improvement in the balance of payments achieved by the replacement of some previously imported goods by increased local production.

23. Presumably the gap to be covered will, potentially, be larger still in 1952. Unless some new factor arises, it seems hardly possible that an even greater sum can be obtained from sources abroad. When the novelty of the Bond Issue has worn off, it may well clash with the drive for U.J.A. funds. Israel's potential deficit with the Sterling Area promises to be particularly serious. All that remains of the £4.7 million sterling balance to be unblocked on 1st January, 1952, has already been committed

Israel's Balance of Payments

(In £1.1 million equivalent)

	1949	1950	Estimated for 1951
1. Visible imports (c.i.f.)			
Food	14	13	15
Other consumer goods	15	14	17
Raw materials	29	33	41
Capital goods	25	35	40
Fuel	5	8	12
Total imports ⁽¹⁾	88	103	125
2. Invisible imports	5	10	14
3. Exports (f.o.b.)	10.5	13	17
4. Shipping, tourism and remittances	10	10.5	11
5. Private capital imports ⁽²⁾	13	18.5	22
6. U.J.A. ⁽³⁾ collections and other donations of World Jewry	24.5	19	40 ⁽⁴⁾
7. Releases from sterling balances	8.5	15	10
8. Drawing on U.S. Export-Import Bank credits	6.5	16	17
9. Other loans and credits and all other capital import	20	21	22
Totals ...	93	113	139

Notes.—

(1) Excluding purely military supplies.

(2) In the form of goods (*i.e.* "imports without payment").

(3) United Jewish Appeal.

(4) Including Bond Drive in the U.S.A.

to meet current needs this year. Israel's exports to sterling countries may reach £6 million, against which the cost in 1952 of sterling oil imports alone may (if shipments continue) be £10 million. In any case, imports from all sources on their present scale are insufficient for immediate development needs at the standards planned, as the numbers employed in public works, and the backlog in housing, show. They fall short by probably at least 25 per cent. And even if more money were available, world shortages might well restrict supplies.

Government planning

24. The \$1,500 million three-year development programme, conceived last year at the conference of Jewish leaders in Jerusalem, is already a remote target. In fact, most of the Government's advance planning has gone by the board, mainly because unrestricted immigration, the shortage of foreign exchange, and the sheer number of problems pressing daily on the officials concerned, have made improvisation the order of the day. It is partly also because realistic planning (so far as it is possible), based on soberly estimated resources and not on optimistic assumptions, leads to conclusions which the Israelis are unwilling to accept. The Jewish attitude has changed little since the days of the mandate. The goal of the early Zionists to establish a Jewish State with Western living standards in the wastes of Palestine was clearly unrealisable in terms of sound economic considerations. Only people who did not face realities could take on such a task, and, in the past, disregard for economic facts brought success.

25. To-day the difficulties are vastly increased. Funds are insufficient; austerity is an essential. Past success was partly due to a forcible restriction of immigration by the Mandatory Government. Now immigration is unlimited and no political party dares oppose this policy. Yet the Israelis still want the best of everything. Their views on agricultural settlement have been already discussed. Factories must have the most modern equipment; there must be a national airline and it must have the latest four-engined aircraft; the settlements must all have electric power and connexion by wireless; the most imposing Zionist Convention Centre possible must be built in Jerusalem with acoustic arrangements by the firm which did the same work on the United Nations buildings in New York. But if, as is apparent, enough money is not available, standards must be reduced and a

readjustment of ideas made about the sum needed to "absorb" a new immigrant. In housing, a forced reduction in standards has indeed been accepted through sheer inability to obtain the building materials needed and to face the consequences of increasing the already large proportion of unproductive investment. Even now the authorities prefer to maintain immigrants in tents or tin huts until concrete dwellings are available, rather than "descend," for instance, to the adobe or rammed earth type of house used in Asia and to some parts of the United States.

Financial development

26. The insufficient rate of net capital import has meant that internal inflationary pressure, already severe at the end of the mandate, has greatly increased. Public and private investment and Jewish Agency and Government expenditure, including defence, are taking 46 per cent. of the total goods and services available. Net investment alone is now equal to one third of the national income (about £1. 330 million in 1950) and nearly two-thirds of this investment is going to unproductive purposes such as housing and transport. The Government's financial policy is still in process of evolution and has often had to be hastily improvised to meet the inflationary danger. Credit policy particularly, though still primitive, has had to be directed more towards negative control than to giving positive aid to development plans. Taxation has increased but is still too low (last year it was about 20 per cent. of the national income) and tax evasion is fairly widespread. An overhaul of taxation policy is badly needed particularly because, in spite of considerable Government encouragement and the creation of easy facilities, the public has shown little willingness to save. Even if this was not surprising in the present inflationary situation, most new immigrants are from countries where the banking habit amongst the public was rare. At the same time, Israel's banking system has been further developed. The Anglo-Palestine Bank (now the National Bank of Israel, Ltd.), now holds about two-thirds of the nation's deposits and does about 60 per cent. of the total banking business in Israel. A national agricultural bank has been formed and a Government mortgage bank and a central development bank are planned. The temporary Issue Department of the Anglo-Palestine Bank is to be replaced by a State bank of issue.

27. The constantly expanding currency circulation necessitated by the increase of

population, and the need to make use of all available foreign exchange, forced the Government in June 1949 to throw over its earlier conservative policy of maintaining 50 per cent. cover for the £1. in gold or foreign currency. According to the Director-General of the Ministry of Finance, "Israel can no longer afford to beautify its cover account with foreign exchange holdings; its production is its security." Thus, in December 1949 the note circulation was £1. 50 million against foreign currency holdings of £1. 28 million; in June this year it had reached £1. 85 million and foreign currency cover was £1. 2·7 million. This policy in itself was probably less unwise than some financial critics had believed, although the very fact that the note circulation can be more easily expanded may have increased the temptation for the Government to resort more often to the printing press. Israel has a second, albeit less tangible "cover account" in the potentiality of world Jewry to assist whenever the need arises. To the general public the cover account probably means little. Yet, though the Israeli's confidence in the future of his State is still unbounded, he has, as a result of shortages and rising prices, developed an increasing distrust of the value of the £1. which is quoted to-day unofficially as about 8s. 6d. (compared with a par of £1). The black market prices of gold and foreign exchange are much more susceptible to small fluctuations in the psychological atmosphere than a year ago. The accent on gold has increased following the influx of Easterners to many of whom gold hoarding has always been a habit.

Military expenditure

28. The economic situation would be eased if Israel's military expenditure could be decreased. Though the defence budget is secret, total defence expenditure probably represents a substantially higher proportion of the national income than it does even now in the United Kingdom. The cost of strategic roads, of extra water and electric power lines, and of settlements established on uneconomic sites for strategic reasons, must be considerable. Efforts are now being made to finance the defence budget for the first time out of ordinary revenue, but this mainly depends on the success of the "dollar linked" loan which was recently floated, the response to which has so far been disappointing. Again, the foreign exchange cost of imported arms and equipment must be between £3 million and £8 million a year.

Advantages of peace with the Arab States

29. A reduction in military expenditure could, in fact, be the greatest immediate economic advantage Israel would gain from peace with the Arab States; the lifting of the Arab boycott would be a secondary consideration. The influx of refugees must have reduced the surplus of food immediately available in some of the neighbouring countries, while at present austerity levels, Israel's vegetable and fruit production now just suffices for its needs. Pre-war, Haifa had virtually replaced Alexandria and Beirut as the main port for Jordan, Syria and Iraq; Haifa is now working to capacity as a result of the increased imports into Israel; until the completion of its proposed extension (which is to include a free port) it is doubtful whether it could cope with much transit trade. In the longer run, as Israel's population grows, the Arab States could again become an important source of food, particularly grain. An unrestricted flow of oil to the Haifa refineries would give employment and provide useful by-products for use in Israel industry. Again, peace might encourage investment in Israel. It might later enable Israel industry to raise its productivity through the economies of scale that are possible in a widened potential market for industrial products.

Changes in living standards

30. The economic development set in motion by mass immigration is being accompanied by an equally important social evolution. In the past three years the number of destitute immigrants has grown out of all proportion to those with means. In addition, the increasing influence of the oriental element in immigration and in the community as a whole means that a growing part of the Jewish population is used to a low standard of living and to a way of life which was similar to that of the former Arab community. For many of these newcomers, even the crowded conditions in tents or huts in the work-camps constitute a rise over their previous standard of living. They are satisfied with little. Earning Histadrut rates of labourers' wages (£1. 2 day or more) they stop work as soon as they have enough for their basic necessities and are employed on the average only three or four days a week.

31. For many older settlers, particularly of the middle classes, the increasing austerity and mounting inflation have meant an important drop in living standards. Food and clothes rationing is strict and lack of stocks often causes breakdowns in distribution,

though in the circumstances it is efficiently administered by the Government. Yet rationing is, for some, mitigated by the receipt of gift parcels from relatives abroad; \$1 million worth of parcels reach Israel each month. The official cost of living index, after a decline in 1950, is now only back to roughly the same as in May 1949, for price controls on a small range of essentials have been well maintained. Other prices have soared; most have, on the average, more than doubled in the past two years. A small saucepan costs £1, a knife and fork 25s., a packet of envelopes 10s., an electric kettle £15. To have a tap washer replaced costs £2, an electric fuse mended £3, a car cleaned and polished £8. Many articles, even some in common household use, are now unobtainable and much of what is on sale—the products of local "mushroom" workshops—is often incredibly shoddy. Property values have increased most of all. In Tel Aviv, small three-room flats which were bought in 1949 for £1. 3,200 are now £1. 9,000.

32. At the same time, part of the older population is as well off now as at the beginning of the State. The Histadrut, aided by its close relationship with the Government, has not only succeeded in forcing up wages in most industries—without a comparable rise in output—high enough to enable its members to pay black market prices for otherwise unobtainable goods, but has extended its social insurance schemes. The labour market is, in fact, completely dominated by the labour exchanges, which are run by the Histadrut (to which 70 per cent. of the workers belong), under the supervision of the Minister of Labour—herself a Histadrut member. In spite of the influx of immigrant labour there is a continuing shortage—partly because of limited training facilities—of many types of tradesmen and of domestic staff. As a result a plumber earns £1. 1 an hour, a motor mechanic £1. 7 a day, a bricklayer £1. 50 a week and a cook anything above £1. 50 a month. Giving minimum value for maximum pay has become an unpublicised but prevalent national trait. The older agricultural settlements, affiliated to the Histadrut, have (see paragraph 10) greatly improved their finances. The bus and the taxi co-operatives (also Histadrut) are making large profits: the average taxi owner-driver now makes £1. 4,000–5,000 a year. The increased prosperity of the settlements and transport co-operatives is in part due to their policy of maintaining so far as possible the "closed shop," a policy which, in spite of the many

arguments in its favour, does not appear to be in the best interests of the State, intent as it is on the problem of placing new immigrants in the economy. That there should be a redistribution of income in favour of the labour section is all to the good but the growth of the country's resources has not kept pace with the increasing population, and it seems that part of the money intended for the absorption of the newcomers is being used by the established settlers to improve their own way of life.

Co-operative and private enterprise

33. The relatively fortunate position of many Histadrut members and the rapid growth of the Histadrut itself has caused an increasing schism between supporters of a collective and of an individual economy. The Histadrut's interests are wide. Apart from its connexion with the agricultural settlements and the bus and taxi co-operatives, it controls Hamashbir Hamerkazi, a wholesale co-operative society and Tnuva, a food marketing organisation, each with a turnover of £1. 20 million which has tripled in three years. Through Solel Boneh, an industrial and contracting company, with a turnover of £1. 40 million (£1. 8.5 million in 1947) it owns the biggest foundries, most of the quarries, a rubber factory, an electric motor factory, a pipe works, the only glass works in the country, and has a half share in the only cement works, all of which have doubled their output since 1948; it has under construction another cement works, a steel rolling mill, a second pipe factory, a galvanising works and is now doubling the capacity of its existing plants. It is the main housing contractor to the Government and builds roads and factories. Again, the Histadrut has interests in Israel's merchant marine, ship-repairing, the principal water company, in banking and insurance. While the growth of its commercial enterprises has been remarkable, it is open to question how far this expansion, particularly of Solel Boneh, has been sound. There is no published information on their finances. With present consumer demand, they can hardly go wrong but a cold wind or depression would rock the whole structure.

34. Private enterprise too has greatly expanded, but with less publicity. Over four-fifths of industry is still in private hands and the Manufacturers' Association has developed into an extremely influential body. Such enterprises as the Palestine Central Trade and Investment Company,

the Pardess Syndicate and the Palestine Economic Corporation have taken full advantage of the opportunities offered in an expanding economy to widen their activities.

35. Part of the private sectors' criticism of the co-operative economy is activated by fear of the Histadrut's rapid expansion. But private capital is insufficient and has tended to avoid those projects that the Histadrut has tackled, such as heavier industry, cheap immigrants housing and the development of the Negev, which the State needs but which offer high risks or small or slow returns. A more solid criticism is the monopolistic nature of many co-operative enterprises, in the field of food supply, in the building industry and in communications, monopolies which are the more powerful because of political affiliations. Again, co-operative enterprise in the public transport services has tended to get unwieldy and inefficient as it has grown. It may also be true that, in a few cases, co-operatives have received special "favours" from the Government. The whole question is in general reflected in the difference of outlook between Mapai and the General Zionists. There is not only room, but need for both co-operative and private enterprise in Israel to-day, though it is desirable that the Government should be more independent of the Histadrut. Each has its part to play and each is peculiarly suited to perform some tasks which the other is not. In fields where their interests overlap there is plenty of room for healthy competition.

Conclusions

36. Israel's economic development has been considerable. Much can be criticised but orderly progress cannot be expected in an economy that is expanding at its present rate. Government administration works under great difficulties in view of the varying personal needs and the widely differing outlook between the Asiatic and European elements in the population and between the old and new settlers. Obsessed with the day-to-day problems of absorption and the need for full employment, the authorities have given less attention than they might to the question of prime importance, that of increased output and, in particular, output designed to reduce the enormous trade deficit.

37. If immigration is to continue at its present rate of over 200,000 a year, the Government must take more drastic measures than they have hitherto. There

must be a quicker flow of immigrants onto the land with less equipment and at lower living standards. Industry must be rationalised—available resources directed towards encouraging essential productive enterprises* and denied to others. Lavish ideas about standards for absorption must be readjusted. Imports of capital equipment may have to be cut and better use made of what is at present available.

38. There are probably ways in which the Israelis could do more to help themselves. This is not to disparage what, with their persistence, push, drive and energy, they have already achieved. But receipt of philanthropy usually tends in time to have a demoralising effect on anyone. Outside aid is essential but the Israel emphasis is always on foreign investment and credits: less often on an increase in exports. Many Israelis work hard: many do not—some because there is little to buy with what they earn, some (e.g., Yemenites) because they are satisfied with little. Food and clothes rationing could hardly be much stricter. Rationing of other essential supplies might be extended. The greatest extravagance is probably in road transport, both civilian and military, and real economies might save £2 million a year. Waste drives for paper, metals and rubber scrap should be organised; further efforts made against the black market. If more immigrants were switched to agriculture, unproductive public works schemes could be cut. Unessential capital improvement, though limited now, could be further restricted; the old communal settlements could defer the construction of a second room on to members' houses or of a concrete dining hall in place of the existing wooden one. In any case, a decrease in inflationary pressure is essential. Taxation must be increased and firmer action taken to resist wage demands.

39. It is not to be expected that the Israelis will cut their capital expenditure until every possibility of finding money abroad is exhausted. If the United States does not come up to scratch, some pressure may be switched to the United Kingdom. They will, it seems, flog the horse until it drops, and only then apply themselves to lightening the load. Though this may cause a new balance-of-payments crisis the Israel Treasury have never yet been so shortsighted as to fall down on foreign exchange commitments already made. And a new crisis could serve as a fresh rallying point for world Jewry. The Israelis thrive on crises. Their whole

economy is being developed under self-generated pressure, in a state of intensity, seriousness, thrusting determination, opportunism, resilience and disregard for failure, which is probably unique. But while some of these qualities are a strength, the material basis on which the Israelis are building their potentially imposing structure is small. With few natural resources, their main solid asset is the will and ability of world Jewry to provide. And even that asset is now partly mortgaged as security for various foreign loans and credits. Yet, though there is something of the bubble in Israel's present economic development, there has been brought into being a creditable if modest economic potential which still puts the country far in advance of the neighbouring Arab States.

40. With or without peace with their neighbours, and in the absence of world war, the Israelis will continue to build up their State. Arab enmity merely acts as an additional challenge. But unless a new factor arises, e.g., the finding of oil in

commercial quantities, the country will be unable in the light of the present net capital inflow, to support at current living standards its proposed population of 3 million by 1960. Nor at present does it seem that Israel's exports can ever be really competitive until its people are satisfied with lower returns than they are now getting. The social change now taking place may itself bring down standards; the influx of orientals was in the past assimilated fairly successfully; now in view of their numbers, assimilation is more doubtful and at the best will be slower. In any case, sheer lack of means will eventually force the Israelis to lower their sights. If they delay too long, and immigrants continue to pour in, Israel's economy may be subjected to pressure which can at the least lead to an increase in inflation sufficient to wreck much of what progress has so far been made.

J. R. WRAIGHT.

June 1951.

ER 1017/21

No. 18

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN ISRAEL

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 18th July)

(No. 285)
Sir,

Tel Aviv,
13th July, 1951.

Now that the first Knesset, elected in Israel in January 1949, has virtually completed its work, it may be appropriate for me to try to assess very briefly the extent to which parliamentary democracy has been successfully established in Israel.

2. The Knesset itself has been in existence for only two and a half years. The Jewish people have, however, had over fifty years' political experience in the World Zionist Congresses which have directed the policy of the Zionist Movement since its foundation in 1897. These congresses acted in fact as a Parliament for the whole of Zionist Jewry. In them were fought out the great issues of Zionism—the Uganda offer, relations with the Turkish and British Governments, and colonisation, settlement and land purchase schemes in Palestine. In them the principal Zionist leaders—Weizmann, Ussishkin, Brandeis and Sokolov—came to the fore. In them Jewish political parties were first set up and Jewish politicians first worked together in committees for constructive

purposes. One major leader who broke away from the congress, Vladimir Jabotinsky, ceased thereafter to have a decisive influence on the course of the movement and pointed the lesson that power could be obtained only through regular parliamentary means.

3. When, therefore, the Knesset was set up, political leaders in Israel, who had many of them for long worked in these congresses, in the Jewish Agency, the Va'ad Leumi and other political bodies, had no great difficulty in producing a workable Parliament. Within two years the Knesset became the centre of political life in Israel. It has had no political rival, and no major political movement is unrepresented within it. There has been no anti-parliamentary movement against it and Israel has produced no General De Gaulle. The Knesset was first established by the Provisional Council of State, which envisaged it as a Constituent Assembly whose main task was to be the establishment of a constitution. The Knesset, however, is a sovereign body and did not consider itself bound by the intentions of

the Provisional Council of State. It has not produced a formal constitution but has passed a number of basic laws which, though they have many defects, have begun to lay the foundations for the future working of the State. Latterly the main body of its legislative work has been concerned with day-to-day needs, in particular the economic problems that beset the country. It has, however, been more than a purely legislative body. It is the chief link between the Government and the people. Ministers have expounded their policy in it and have been able to sense public reaction through its debates, and the Knesset has emphatically voiced the deep feeling of the people of Israel in several important questions—the Law of the Return and the policy of unrestricted immigration, the establishment of the capital in Jerusalem, and the implacable hatred of Germany.

4. The functioning of the Knesset, though not ideal, is a workable mixture of continental and British procedure, and every effort has been made to adapt to local use the best features of other parliamentary systems. Detailed discussion of legislative measures takes place in standing committees, which also receive confidential reports from Ministers on the policies of their departments, while the position of the various parties is made clear in the plenary debates. The Knesset is in no sense the tool of the Government or of any particular party or class within the State. Jews delight in furious controversy and the people of Israel will not lightly give up their right to murmur against Moses. The Knesset suffers from the drawback, common to systems of proportional representation, of a multiplicity of parties and the consequent need for coalition and compromise. Another characteristic derives from the Central European "Single List" system of election so far used; back-benchers are in fact no more than party hacks, whose position depends entirely on the few leaders of the party. If a member resigns, there is no bye-election, but a runner up on the party list is brought in to fill the vacancy. These drawbacks are keenly felt, and electoral procedure is still a subject of political controversy.

5. Despite the rigidity of party strengths and party discipline imposed by electoral practice, Mapai, which emerged from the 1949 elections as the strongest party, has

steadily consolidated its position, not only in the Knesset but, through its dominant partnership in the Government, also in the Histadrut, the armed forces and the civil service. At the same time the enormous power wielded by the Histadrut has been of immense service to Mapai. The coalition with the Religious *Bloc* imposed by lack of a majority has in the long run, perhaps, served Mapai in good stead, and in the last phase of the First Knesset's life they were able to hold up to derision the irksome demands of their colleagues. The General Zionists have not been effective in opposition, largely because their main differences with the Government concerned economic and labour policy, on which they had no very definite alternative to offer. Mapam were noisy and provocative after the manner of fellow-travelling Socialists elsewhere. Herut adopted a similar style in pursuit of different objects.

6. It is within the Knesset that political reputations in Israel must now be made, and in the course of two years those leaders who have made good parliamentarians have increased their stature while others, who have been unable to adapt themselves successfully, have been eclipsed. Regular debates in the Knesset have, for example, revealed the terrorist leaders, who previously had a powerful and sinister influence upon the younger generation, as ineffective and unimpressive in public controversy, and the press and the public now pay more attention to those who are able to argue constructively and coherently.

7. The Knesset has become a body unquestionably entitled to speak for the people of Israel. Israelis have, as the recent elections to this year's World Zionist Congress show, to a great extent lost interest in the functioning of Zionism outside Israel. Their own problems are too acute and too immediate. The Knesset, sitting as it does in Jerusalem, is to them real and actual and important. It is also an expression of their independence, their maturity and their emergence as a nation after all their wanderings. It is encouraging that this should be so, and that in at any rate one Middle Eastern country democracy should work.

I have, &c.
(For the Minister),
J. E. CHADWICK.

ET 10393/11

No. 19

PROPOSED IRAQ-JORDAN UNION

Mr. Morrison to Mr. Chadwick (Tel Aviv)

(No. 419)
(Telegraphic)Foreign Office,
4th August, 1951.

Bagdad telegram No. 612, paragraph 4. Israel Minister informed Permanent Under-Secretary on 1st August that he had been instructed by his Government to call the attention of His Majesty's Government to the recent activities of the Mufti, for which the atmosphere created by King Abdullah's murder provided a fertile field particularly in the Jordan territory west of the river. The Israel Government suspected that he was being supported by the Secretariat of the Arab League as well as by certain elements in Egypt. They wished us to know that if he were allowed to establish himself in Jerusalem they would be obliged to regard this as a direct challenge to the security of Israel, as from Jerusalem he could stir up serious troubles in Jordan or elsewhere.

2. The Minister was informed that we kept a close eye on the Mufti's movements and were well aware of the danger to peace and good order which would be created by his presence in certain places during a period of tension.

3. The Minister also stated that he had been instructed to let us know that any changes in the territorial *status quo* in the Middle East, or any shift in the balance of power to the detriment of Israel would be a concern to the Israel Government, who hoped that His Majesty's Government would do their best to prevent such develop-

ments. He was told that he presumably referred to the idea of a merger of Iraq and Jordan which was apparently being discussed throughout the Middle East at present. His Majesty's Government's attitude, as was made clear in the Tripartite Statement of May 1950, was that we should oppose the use of force to bring about such changes. The future of Iraq and Jordan must be determined by the wishes of their Governments and peoples; we should not wish to advise any step that may not be endorsed by the great majority, nor should we wish to advise against any such step if a merger were in accordance with the general desire. We did not, however, in fact, think that such a merger was very likely to take place in present circumstances. The Jordan Government seemed to have the situation well in hand and the Arab Legion to be remaining steady.

4. The Israel Minister reverted to these subjects in a conversation at the Foreign Office to-day and the opportunity was taken to inform him in confidence that, according to our information, the policy of the present Jordan Government was as indicated in paragraph 2 of Amman telegram No. 270 [of 1st August]. He was also told that our most recent information appeared to bear out our impression that a merger between Jordan and Iraq was unlikely at present.

5. The Israel Minister expressed gratitude for this information, which, he said, would reassure his Government.

ER 1053/16

No. 20

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAEL MINISTER

(1) Suez Canal; (2) Israel and the Arab States

Mr. Morrison to Mr. Chadwick (Tel Aviv)

(No. 162. Confidential) Foreign Office,
Sir, 7th August, 1951.

The Israel Minister called on me to-day and repeated to me much of what he had already said to Sir William Strang on 1st August as recorded in my telegram No. 419 of 4th August.

2. We also discussed the Suez Canal. I told Mr. Elath that the United States

Government had insisted on making further representations to the Egyptian Government in the hope of settling the dispute out of court. Nothing had come of this attempt, and the United States and French Governments were now joining us in tabling a resolution in the Security Council. Mr. Elath replied that his Government had been much encouraged by the position taken by

Sir Gladwyn Jebb. They themselves had always been sceptical of any attempt to settle out of court; and they feared that the resultant delays would complicate matters. I agreed, adding that it was important that Israel should refrain from taking any action that might prejudice a satisfactory settlement. Mr. Elath assured me that his Government had no wish to make matters more difficult.

3. As regards Jordan, I said that I had wondered whether there might be a *prima facie* case for merging that State with Iraq, one advantage being the increased stability that might result from such a union. However, there were difficulties and we were not contemplating any action. Mr. Elath said that in his view stability would result rather from sound economic conditions than from mergers; and that Israel felt apprehensive of any arrangement that would bring right up to her own borders the influence of the one Arab State which had not even concluded an armistice with her. I assured him that we were not pressing for a merger and that in fact we saw little likelihood of such a development.

4. Mr. Elath then thanked me for the friendly references to Israel which I had made in the debate in the House of Commons on 30th July. Israel, for her part, was anxious to make her contribution to the restoration of peace and to economic

development. I replied that there was great need of a psychological study of the Middle East and that one of the main objects of such a study must be to find ways of resolving the differences between Israel and the Arab States. Mr. Elath expressed the opinion that two things were required: the eradication of prejudice and fear, and some mutual interest. As an example of the latter he mentioned the joint development of the water resources and suggested that great benefits could accrue not only to Israel but also to Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon from collaboration in the use of the waters of the Jordan, Yarmuk and Litani. It would be of great advantage if the United Kingdom felt able to put forward constructive plans to this end. One of the resultant benefits would be the provision of land for the settlement of refugees. Israel was interested in this not only on humanitarian grounds but also because it would increase her own security. So long as the refugee problem existed there was the danger of trouble for Israel.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Bagdad, Washington, Paris, Alexandria, Beirut, Damascus, Jeddah, Jerusalem and the B.M.E.O.

I am, &c.

HERBERT MORRISON.

ER 1019/4

No. 21

ELECTION RESULTS

Mr. Chadwick to Mr. Morrison. (Received 9th August)

(No. 280) (Telegraphic)	Tel Aviv, 9th August, 1951.	Arab Democrats 3
My telegram No. 275.		Sephardim 2
Final distribution of 120 seats has now been announced as follows:—		Mizrahi 2
		Poalei Agudat Israel ... 2
Mapai 45		Yemenites 1
General Zionists 20		Nazareth Arab List ... 1
Mapam 15		Druze List 1
Hapoel Hamizrahi ... 8		
Herut 8		
Communists 5		
Progressives 4		
Agudat Israel ... 3		

2. Mr. Ben Gurion said yesterday that all these parties except Herut and the Communists would be welcome in a coalition, but added he would make no concessions on economic policy to the General Zionists and none on foreign policy to Mapam.

**23rd ZIONIST CONGRESS HELD IN JERUSALEM,
14th-30th AUGUST, 1951**

Mr. Chadwick to Mr. Attlee.

(No. 325. Confidential) *Tel Aviv,*
Sir, *3rd September, 1951.*

I have the honour to inform you that the 23rd Zionist Congress was held in Jerusalem from 14th to 30th August. The congress was the first to be held since the founding of the State of Israel and the first to be held in Israel itself. 480 delegates representing Zionists in sixty countries attended the Congress.

2. Though the practical achievements of the congress have been small it has in fact been one of the most important to be held since the first Zionist Congress in 1897. In the fifty years preceding the founding of the State of Israel the aims of the Zionist movement were clear. The first congress had laid down the programme of the movement by stating that "Zionism aims at the establishment for the Jewish people of a publicly-recognised and legally assured home in Palestine." This aim was achieved in 1948 and the prime issue before the 23rd Congress was to consider what the future of the movement should be now that Zion was no longer an aspiration but a fact.

3. To Zionists in Israel the future tasks of the movement still appear to be clear and inescapable. They think that all Jews who can should in due course come to Israel, that they should study and teach their children the Hebrew language, and that they should recognise the task of the present generation of world Jewry to be the concentration of the Jewish people in their historic homeland and the building up there of a strong and stable Jewish State. This view is especially upheld by the Israel Labour Party (Mapai), and, as Sir Knox Helm said in his despatch No. 217 of 17th May, it has already been put forward by Mr. Ben-Gurion and other Mapai leaders, who desire to make the World Zionist Organisation a tool of the Israel Government. They incorporated their views in a draft "Jerusalem Programme" restating the aims of Zionism, to be substituted for the Basle programme of 1897. But these views clashed fundamentally with the views of the American Zionists, who, representing as they do a great part of a population of 5 million Jews, are the most active and powerful section of world Jewry outside Israel. The American

(Received 6th September)

Zionists declared themselves anxious to help Israel in every way possible, to further her interests by political and financial support and to assist her to bring in Jewish refugees from any country where they suffer persecution; but they made it clear that they do not themselves wish to leave America and settle in Israel. The strongest statement of their views was made at the congress by Mrs. Rose Halprin, the president of Hadassah, the American Women's Zionist Organisation and a member of the new Zionist Executive, who said bluntly: "We Jews live in the Diaspora by choice. We are free to come in or go out and do not live in fear. There is fear in some countries but not in America. No Jews came in their masses out of Russia or Poland or Germany until forced to by pressure, discomfort or insecurity." Zionists in the United States, she said, support Jewish immigration to Israel, which was "part of the American tradition of pioneering," but she pointed out that Jewish citizens in the Diaspora owed total allegiance to the countries in which they lived and added that it would be a mistake for the congress to adopt any resolution which did not take these facts into consideration. She also startled the congress by saying that immigrants from America should be given special treatment in housing and other matters if they were to immigrate to Israel. This was recognised to be true, since the average American Jew will not emigrate to Israel if he is provided only with a stifling aluminium hut in the wilderness as are refugees from Eastern Europe or the Middle East, but her words were clearly somewhat tactless. The opposite view was put with equal vigour by Mrs. Myerson, the Israel Minister of Labour, who said that if only ten American Zionist leaders had packed and come to Israel the day after the State was created, it could have been said that they appreciated the significance of the establishment of Israel. There could, she said, be no rest until masses from the two largest Jewish communities, those of the United States and of Russia, were settled in Israel. Her stand was supported by Mr. Sprinzak, the Speaker of the Knesset, and Mr. Locker, the head of the Jerusalem Section of the Jewish Agency. The general debate in the course of which these speeches

were made revealed clearly the depth of the rift which has opened between these points of view. Israel leaders such as Mr. Yitzhak Gruenbaum maintained that the only true Zionists were those who sent their children to Israel. They asserted that all Jews outside Israel were in "exile" and needed to be "ingathered" or "redeemed." The American Zionists replied that they did not want to be ingathered or redeemed and that although they would give all help to Israel they were and would remain American citizens.

4. In the event it proved impossible to replace the Basle programme by a new Jerusalem programme, and the congress finally adopted a compromise resolution defining the tasks (not the aims) of Zionism as: "The strengthening of the State of Israel; the ingathering of the exiles in Eretz Israel; and the fostering of the unity of the Jewish people." This was as far as the American Zionists were prepared to go.

5. Another, but less intractable, issue with which the congress was required to deal was the status of the World Zionist Organisation in Israel. Here again there was controversy between Israelis and Americans. Hitherto the organisation as such has had no official status and the position of the Jewish Agency, originally established under the terms of the mandate and still operating in Jerusalem, New York and elsewhere, has remained curiously indeterminate. A section of the congress delegates, led by Rabbi Aba Hillel Silver and by other members of the Zionist Organisation of America, called for a charter from the Israel Government giving the Zionist Organisation wide powers including a virtual monopoly in speaking for the Jewish people in the Diaspora, the establishment of the organisation as the recognised channel between Israel and world Jewry and the control of all fund-raising and political activity in support of Jews abroad.

These sweeping demands were and are strongly opposed by Mr. Ben-Gurion, who has throughout stood for the unconditional sovereignty and freedom of action of the Israel Government. He is strengthened in this very natural feeling by the fact that while he has led a primarily Labour Government the Zionist Organisation of America, which dominates the World Zionist Organisation, is a strongly Conservative body with policies akin to those of the Republican Party in the United States—even though by no means all of its leaders go to the lengths of Rabbi Silver in demanding the right of interference in Israel affairs. Mr. Ben-

Gurion also wishes to be free to enlist the support of non-Zionist Jews abroad such as Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Henry Montor, who is in charge of the bond drive in the United States. He has, however, said that he is willing to give the organisation some special legal status in Israel provided that its help to Israel is given unconditionally, and all parties in Israel have expressed themselves in favour of some special status. It is probable that the representatives of the organisation in Israel will be given what amounts to diplomatic status in Israel, and that machinery will be set up to co-ordinate the activities of the Government and the organisation. The resolution passed by the congress calls upon the Israel Government to grant the organisation special legal status "as the representative of the Jewish people in all matters that relate to organised participation of Jews the world over in the development and upbuilding of the land and the rapid absorption of newcomers" and urging the fullest degree of co-operation between the Government and the organisation "in consonance with the laws of the land." It also lays down that "in relation to all activities conducted in the interest of the State of Israel within Jewish communities outside Israel, it is essential that the Government of the State of Israel shall act in co-ordination and consultation with the World Zionist Organisation." In the event it seems probable that Rabbi Silver's demands, which would amount to interference in the internal affairs of Israel by Zionists in New York, will be repudiated but that closer co-operation will be established and efforts made to prevent the organisation declining in influence and becoming a merely charitable and welfare body.

6. The hopes for closer co-operation are perhaps reflected in the composition of the new Zionist Executive of 19, which was elected after "extra time"; it is composed entirely of Israelis and Americans, and the plea of the British delegates that one seat should be allotted to a European was ignored. The Zionist General Council of 14 members will be presided over by Mr. Sprinzak.

7. Other questions discussed by the congress included the possibility of unifying all Jewish fund-raising efforts abroad and the proposed abolition of political parties in the Diaspora. The Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod) has been given priority in appeals and fund-raising and recognised as the sole fund of the Zionist Organisation authorised to launch appeals in Israel and the Diaspora.

The congress or the Zionist General Council will allocate the funds raised. The other chief fund, the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet) will, however, retain its independence and its present functions. The problem of Jewish political parties abroad has been referred to the Zionist General Council. It is unlikely that they will be abolished, but possible that they will be linked more closely in national federations, though a recommendation to this effect was rejected by the congress. Other organisational matters, such as the "double shekel," under which votes cast in Israel for congress elections have twice the value of those cast abroad, have also been referred to the council. The encouragement of capital investment in Israel has been extensively discussed. Resolutions were also passed supporting the United Nations and the strengthening of peace, calling upon the Soviet Union and its satellites to permit Jewish immigration, protesting against the "régime of terror, persecution and suffering" imposed by Iraq on her Jewish minority, expressing deep apprehension at the growth of neo-nazism and fascism, and supporting Israel's demand for compensation from Western Germany. Resolutions defeated included a demand from a Mapam member for support of the Stockholm Peace Petition and from a Herut spokesman for a declaration refusing to renounce the Jewish people's ownership of "the whole of Eretz Israel on both sides of the Jordan and the whole of Jerusalem." (It will be noted, however, that the tasks of zionism included the ingathering of the exiles in *Eretz Israel* (that is, Palestine as a whole); but this is probably an inheritance from the Basle Programme.) Future congresses will be held every three years, instead of every two years as at present.

8. The British delegation to the congress consisted of ten representatives, prominent among whom were Mr. Barnett Janner, Member of Parliament for Leicester North-West, Mrs. Sieff, World President of the Women's International Zionist Organisation (W.I.Z.O.) and Dr. Levenberg, the Jewish

Agency Executive's representative in the United Kingdom. It was noted that the British delegation, though representing several Zionist parties, acted with remarkable cohesion in support of a policy which they had previously agreed between them. They presented to Dr. Weizmann an address recalling his part in securing the Balfour Declaration and in realising Herzl's vision of close co-operation between the Jewish and British peoples for the benefit of mankind.

9. Outwardly, the 23rd Congress has produced no radical change of policy, and world Zionism will continue on its course as before with perhaps closer and more understanding co-operation with the Israel Government. Nevertheless, the dilemma of Jews abroad has been made embarrassingly plain. Relentless logicians such as Arthur Koestler, the writer, have already said that Jews in the Western world must now either go to Israel or stop thinking of themselves and bringing up their children as Jews. Zionists in the Diaspora have refused to accept this choice, but the 23rd Congress has shown how vulnerable their position is. In Israel they are attacked as half-hearted, fireside Zionists, preferring comfort and wealth to unselfish endeavour. Now they return home to a Gentile world which rightly suspects them of divided loyalty. They are face to face with a problem which each of them can solve only for himself.

10. Finally, the friction between the Americans and the Israelis is likely to have a lasting effect. Although the British delegates shared in the main the views of the Americans on the chief issue, they prudently left it to the Americans to make the running; and, indirectly, I believe that one result of the Congress will be to intensify the sympathy of Israelis for British liberalism.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Alexandria, Ankara, Bagdad, Amman, Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem and Haifa and to the head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.
J. CHADWICK.

C 10353/5

No. 23

WESTERN GERMANY AND THE JEWS

Sir I. Kirkpatrick to Mr. Morrison. (Received 29th September)(No. 973. Saving) *Wahnerheide,*
(Telegraphic) *28th September, 1951.*

Following is text of Federal Government's declaration on the Jews read by the Chancellor in the Bundestag on 27th September:—

"Recently the world has on various occasions occupied itself with the attitude adopted by the Federal Republic towards the Jews. Now and then doubts have been expressed as to whether the new State is guided by principles in respect of these important questions which take into consideration the terrible crimes of a past epoch and put the relationship between the Jews and the German people on a new and healthy basis.

"The attitude of the Federal Republic towards its Jewish citizens has been unambiguously laid down by the basic law. Article 3 of the basic law provides that all persons are equal before the law, and that no one may be prejudiced or privileged because of his sex, his descent, his race, his language, his homeland and origin, his faith or his religious and political opinions. Article 1 of the basic law further provides—

"The dignity of man is inviolable. To respect and protect it is the duty of all State authority. The German people therefore acknowledge inviolable and inalienable human rights as the basis of every human community of peace and of justice in the world."

"These rules of law are directly applicable and impose an obligation on every German citizen—and especially on every State official—to reject any form of racial discrimination. In the same spirit the Federal Republic has also signed the convention for the protection of human rights drafted by the Council of Europe, and has pledged itself to put into practice the legal conception contained therein.

"These rules of law can, however, become effective only if the disposition which gave rise to them is adopted by the whole nation. This is, therefore, in the first place a problem of education. The Federal Government deems it an essential necessity that the churches and the education administrations of the Länder to all in their power within their area in order that the spirit of humane

and religious tolerance should not only be formally recognised but also become a reality among the entire German people, and especially among German youth, in respect of their psychological attitude and actions. This is an essential task incumbent upon the educational authorities, which, however, must be completed by the example set by the grown-ups.

"In order that this educational work should not be interrupted, and in order that the internal peace of the Federal Republic be maintained, the Federal Republic has decided to oppose all those circles that are still engaged in Jew-baiting by prosecuting them unrelentingly. Recommendations for an amendment of the penal code have been submitted to the Bundestag by reason of which propaganda inciting racial hatred is, among others, also to be severely punished. The Federal Government is intent to apply these provisions most vigorously as soon as they come into force.

"The Federal Government, and with it the vast majority of the German people, are conscious of the immeasurable suffering that was brought to bear upon the Jews in Germany and in the occupied territories during the period of national socialism. The great majority of the German people abhorred the crimes committed against the Jews and had no part in them. During the time of national socialism there were many Germans who, risking their own lives for religious reasons, obeying the commands of their conscience, and feeling ashamed that the good name of

Germany should be trodden upon, were prepared to help their Jewish compatriots. But unspeakable crimes were perpetrated in the name of the German people which impose upon them the obligation to make moral and material amends, both as regards the individual damage which Jews suffered and as regards Jewish property for which there are no longer individual claimants. In this respect first steps have already been taken, but much remains to be done. The Federal Government will see to it that the restitution legislation is rapidly brought to an end and that it is justly implemented. Part of the Jewish property which it was possible to identify has been restituted. Further restitutions will follow.

"With regard to the extent of the reparations—a huge problem in view of the immense destruction of Jewish valuables by national socialism—the limits must be considered which are set to the German ability to pay by the bitter necessity of having to provide for the innumerable war victims and to care for the refugees and expellees."

"The Federal Government is prepared jointly with representatives of Jewry and the State of Israel, which has admitted so many homeless Jewish refugees, to bring about a

solution of the material reparation problem in order to facilitate the way to a spiritual purging of unheard-of suffering. It is fully convinced that the spirit of true humanity must once more become alive and bear fruit. The Federal Government considers it the foremost duty of the German people to foster this spirit with all their power."

2. In the ensuing debate all the main parties in the Bundestag except the Communists, spoke in support of the declaration.

ER 1617/30

No. 24

POLITICAL SITUATION

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 18th October)

(No. 375)

Tel Aviv,
Sir,
15th October, 1951.

With reference to my telegram No. 324 of 8th October I have the honour to inform you that Israel's new coalition Cabinet is composed as follows:—

Prime Minister and Defence: David Ben Gurion (Mapai)

Agriculture and Development: Levi Eshkol (Mapai)

Health: Dr. Shlomo Joseph Burg (Hapoel Hamizrachi)

Education and Culture: Professor Ben-Zion Dinaburg (Mapai)

Commerce and Industry and Justice: Dr. Dov Joseph (Mapai)

Social Welfare: Rabbi Isaac Reir Levine (Agudat Israel)

Labour: Mrs. Golda Meyerson (Mapai)

Minister without portfolio: Perez Naphthali (Mapai)

Communications: David Zvi Pinkas (Mizrahi)

Finance: Eliezer Kaplan (Mapai)

Police: Behor Shitreet (Mapai)

Interior, and Religions: Moshe Shapiro (Hapoel Hamizrachi)

Foreign Affairs: Moshe Sharett (Mapai)

2. Thus there are thirteen Ministers, one more than in the old coalition; the religious parties hold four portfolios, an increase of one, and Mapai nine, a balancing increase of one. The Progressive Party, which previously held one seat (Justice), declined to participate, but the Ministry of Justice is still held open for them, being entrusted to Mr. Dov Joseph, who should be fully enough occupied with Trade and Industry.

This latter appointment is the most surprising one; his responsibilities will include rationing and raw materials supplies—the very same from which he was ousted by popular outcry just one year ago. The most grievous loss to the Government is Mr. Lavon (formerly Lubianiker), the ex-Mapai Minister of Agriculture, who refused to be included in the Cabinet. Mr. Geri, the non-party Minister of Trade and Industry, and Rabbi Maimon, the former Minister of Religions, with Mr. Rosen, the Progressive Minister of Justice, are the others dropped from the previous Cabinet. The careers of the five new Ministers are described in an enclosure⁽¹⁾; two of them, Mr. Eshkol and Mr. Pinkas, figure in my 1951 report on Personalities in Israel (Nos. 31 and 72). Professor Dinaburg, the new Minister of Education, is not now a member of the Knesset (though he was a Mapai member of the First Knesset), and, like Mr. Geri before him, will be entitled to speak but not to vote. Mr. Naphthali, Minister without portfolio, is understood to be charged with economic co-ordination, but is obviously a make-weight to counter-balance the additional portfolio allotted to the religious parties.

3. The political haggling about the terms of coalition has led to a regrouping of Government departments. The Supply and Rationing divisions are transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture to the Ministry of Trade; the Ministry of Immigration is abolished, and its functions are to be transferred to the Ministries of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs; the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare is

split into two—perhaps in order to find a job for Rabbi Levine—and the Ministry of Agriculture must presumably take over the development functions of the Treasury and the Prime Minister's Office.

4. The Prime Minister presented his Cabinet to the Knesset on 7th October. A summary⁽¹⁾ of his statement of policy, as quoted by the *Jerusalem Post*, is enclosed. In its principles it does not differ greatly from the declared policy of the previous Government. Much emphasis is placed on economic development, public, private and co-operative; and special reference is made to the supply of food and raw materials. Various economic promises are made, all in general terms: revised tax policy, war on the black market and on inflation, the continuance of the popular housing scheme (see Mr. Chadwick's despatch No. 298 E. of 28th July) and—what seems a wild dream in Israel's present difficulties—social insurance. The statement declares for "full employment, economic security, and decent working conditions." It also deals with the vexed question of education, the chief bone of contention between Mapai and the religious parties, promising a Government commission to prepare a standard curriculum designed for all State elementary schools.

5. After two days' debate, concerned mainly with the reasons why various parties were not in the Government, and wound up by the Minister of Finance with a forecast of economic difficulties ahead, the Government received a vote of confidence by fifty-six votes to forty, with four abstentions. (This was considerably better than the nominal majority, which is sixty-five to fifty-five.) But they have had a gloomy and unfavourable reception from the press and public. *Ha'aretz* (Independent) wrote of the stupefaction of all patriotic Israelis, claiming that the coalition was on the narrowest possible basis (despite Mr. Ben Gurion's assertion that he desired the contrary) and was due to Mapai's antipathy to the General Zionists; the paper saw no likelihood of stability, nor any possibility of saving Israel's economy, and held Mr. Ben Gurion responsible through his failure to lead his party in the right direction. *Haboker* (General Zionist) accused him of not understanding mass psychology, or of undervaluing the intelligence of the people. *Al Hamishmar* (Mapam) quoted Ecclesiastes: "the wind whirleth about continually, and returneth

again according to his circuits." *Davar* (Histadrut) had very little to say, but, along with the *Jerusalem Post*, offered an apologetic explanation of how the coalition had come about. How, it asked, could Mapai hand over control of rationing, as the General Zionists demanded, to a party which had vigorously attacked the Government's economic policy, particularly rationing? *Davar* hoped, piously enough, that the religious parties would have learnt their lesson from the election results, and would cause no trouble. The *Jerusalem Post* admitted the lack of public confidence in the new coalition, and laid down its creation as the Government's first task.

6. Although the editor of *Ha'aretz* incurred the public wrath of the Prime Minister by his strictures, they contain much wisdom. During the two months of negotiations, Mapai broke first with Mapam, largely on the issue of foreign policy as expressed in the United Nations, then for a time with Hapoel Hamizrachi, the religious labour party; the other religious parties were scarcely consulted, especially Mizrahi, whose leader Mr. Pinkas (now Minister of Communications) the Prime Minister regards as a reactionary. Negotiations with the General Zionists came at length to the point when agreement was expected hourly; four Ministries had been allotted to the General Zionists, and the only outstanding issue was whether a General Zionist should be the Minister in charge of Supply and Rationing policy while Mapai held the Treasury. Mr. Ben Gurion, in consultation with his party executive, remained adamant that this was impossible. It seems clear that Mapai could not overcome the fears they have entertained ever since the election, that in a coalition with the General Zionists they would surrender to Mapam their claim to be a worker's party, and would acquire a purely bourgeois status, and they could not bring themselves to permit a situation in which Mapam could claim that Mapai had surrendered economic policy—the policy of full employment and fair shares for all—to the forces of reaction. At the same time there was a faction in the party, led by Mr. Kaplan, who thought it essential to bring in the General Zionists, and even to associate them, if need be, with economic policy, in order to make possible a united economic policy, and to facilitate the flow of funds and private investment from abroad. But the stalwarts of Mapai

(1) Not printed.

(1) Not printed.

thought there should be no compromise for the sake of American dollars; and rather than demand another election the outcome of which would probably be even less favourable to them, they hastened to patch up an arrangement with the religious parties with whom they quarrelled last winter, and from most of whom they had hoped to be permanently divorced. The small Progressive Party, angered by this obstinacy, withdrew its participation, declaring that it would abstain from voting on questions of confidence.

7. Mapai thus left themselves in harness with the unpopular religious parties, in a relatively weaker position than before, and dependent on a nominal voting strength of five more than half the membership of the Knesset—and that with the help of five Arab stooges of Mapai, who are thus, theoretically at least, in a position to rule the future of this Government. Party leaders despondently hope that they will be able to play along with existing policies for some time—a few months perhaps—until the short memories of the electorate have forgotten this year's campaign and its outcome. Then perhaps Mapai could go to

the country again with reasonable confidence. But seeing the acute economic difficulties besetting Israel at this moment, I believe this to be wishful thinking, and if, as I expect, Mr. Ben Gurion once again loses patience with his religious travelling companions, I should not be surprised to see him forced before long to make a fresh bid for General Zionist support, perhaps on terms even more favourable than they were recently prepared to accept. In that event Mapai as a Socialist Party might well be doomed. Certainly the ever more dominant position of the Histadrut, with all its monopolies, would be threatened. But the only foreseeable alternative is greater success than hitherto for Mr. Ben Gurion's efforts to split Mapam and to attract to himself the less extreme elements of that now largely fellow-traveller party. I understand that Mr. Ben Gurion still nourishes hopes in this direction. But perhaps his own personality is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of this realisation.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

ER 1572/13

No. 25

ISRAEL GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES JEWRY

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 18th October)

(No. 376. Restricted) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 15th October, 1951.

In his despatch No. 325 of 3rd September regarding the 23rd Zionist Congress Mr. Chadwick brought out the constant friction during the debates between the Israeli delegates and many of the Americans. According to a report from New York published in the local press of 11th October, the Israel Prime Minister has found it expedient once again to soothe the irritation of the American Zionists and has sent a message to the Israel Ambassador at Washington which was described as an effort to clarify the Israel Government's attitude to relations with United States Jewry.

2. The Prime Minister said that Israel represented and spoke only on behalf of its own citizens and in no way presumed to represent or speak in the name of Jews who were citizens of any other country. He went on to say: "We people in Israel have no desire and no intention to interfere in any respect with the right and integrity of any

Jewish communities in other countries to develop their own mode of life and their own indigenous social, economic or cultural institutions in accordance with their own needs and aspirations. Any weakening of American Jewry, the disruption of its communal life, the lowering of its security or diminution of its status would be a definite loss to Jews everywhere, and Israel in particular."

3. Mr. Ben Gurion stressed Israel's need and desire for American Jewish man-power both as technicians and halutzim (pioneers), but added that "the decision as to whether they wish to come permanently or temporarily rests within the free discretion of each American Jew himself. It is entirely a matter of his own volition."

4. Referring to the Zionist Congress decisions, Mr. Ben Gurion said it was natural for Israel to urge redoubled Zionist efforts, but declared that this did not mean that there was any change in Israel's established policy, which was to seek the welcome

support, assistance and counsel of all Jewish groups and individuals, whether or not they worked within the framework of the Zionist Organisation.

5. The Prime Minister continued that in accordance with the wishes of the Zionist Congress the Knesset might be asked to confer a special status on the Jewish Agency inside Israel; but the Knesset could not and did not wish to affect by its legislation any activity outside Israel's borders, and so far as American Jews were concerned, the position would remain as before, namely, that Israel would co-operate directly on matters affecting itself with all Jewish organisations desiring such co-operation. Such direct relations of the Israel Government with Jewish bodies and organisations would naturally be co-ordinated with the Jewish Agency.

6. Finally, Mr. Ben Gurion said that friends had asked him what was the exact meaning of the term "Ingathering of the

Exiles." He defined it as the "spontaneous and wondrous convergence upon Israel of Jews in need of a home and freedom." It was not to be regarded as implying that American Jews should feel themselves to be deficient in stability or security or as being under notice to change their abode.

7. Thus in this declaration Mr. Ben Gurion has reaffirmed, in much the same language but with greater emphasis, the attitude stated in August last year to Mr. Blanstein, as described in Mr. Chadwick's despatch No. 215 of 30th August, 1950.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Alexandria, Ankara, Bagdad, Amman, Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem and Haifa and to the acting head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

ER 1152/23

No. 26

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ISRAEL

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 24th October)

(No. 384 E. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 22nd October, 1951.

As you know from my telegrams Nos. 316 and 322, Israel is experiencing an acute foreign exchange crisis and for the time being the Exchange Controller has withdrawn the powers delegated to local banks to approve foreign exchange transactions, and is refusing or delaying as many applications as he can. A few essential payments only are being made. The immediate cause of this action was presumably the refusal of Barclays Bank (Dominions, Colonial and Overseas) to renew commercial revolving credits after a large sterling draft issued by the National Bank of Israel had, according to the Israel authorities, failed to reach Barclays until after closing time on the due date. But the incident only shows on what a narrow margin the Israel Treasury have recently been working.

2. Even before the new orders were issued, some local banks had experienced delays in obtaining from the National Bank foreign exchange to cover various payments and remittances already authorised by the Exchange Controller. Thus, for example, the monthly payment of \$100,000 to the American Esso Oil Company for oil supplies was not transferred in September and is,

I believe, still outstanding. (You will be already aware of the large amounts now owing to the Shell Company.) As I have previously reported, the authorities have given their assurance that irrevocable credits already opened will be met at due dates. But my Commercial Secretary's enquiries in local banking circles indicate that this assurance is subject to its narrowest interpretation. It appears that certain types of bills have not been paid at maturity (an example quoted was a sixty-day draft). Again, in the case of a £150,000 debt for Rhodesian tobacco owing to a South African bank, for which the terms of repayment agreed by the South Africans and guaranteed by the Israel Controller of Foreign Exchange were £15,000 per month, no instalments have yet been paid for September or October.

3. I understand that Barclays Bank have now agreed to re-establish credits to the extent of 75 per cent. of earlier totals. But the Israel Treasury has had its warning and its aim now is to build up at least a minimum foreign exchange reserve for emergencies. This will not be easy, for at present there is virtually no sterling uncommitted and earnings will be negligible until December when the citrus shipments to the United Kingdom should begin. The dollar position is little

better, but should perhaps improve more quickly. The flow of dollars resulting from United Jewish Appeal and the Bond Drive in the United States, which had fallen to a trickle during the summer, should increase as the autumn campaigns get under way. (Here I would remark that I have seen nothing here—where reports on the subject do not generally err on the pessimistic side—to confirm the high estimates of the results of these drives given to Mr. Greenhill by Mr. Shiloah in Washington on 3rd October. I shall in fact be surprised if the net receipts exceed the more modest totals which I forecast in paragraph 4 of my despatch No. 246 of 8th June.) The Government is also hoping that a substantial part of the United States grant-in-aid will be made available before the end of the year. In the meantime, everything that can be pared will be. Foreign travel has been further restricted; even officials of the pampered Defence Ministry who were to leave this week on a procurement mission to Austria have had to cancel their journey. Imports are being cut to a minimum; for the time being at least new foreign exchange permits are being issued only for wheat, flour and sugar.

4. That there should be no gap in these basic food shipments is of extreme importance. There are hardly any stocks of any food in the country and, as Mr. Chadwick reported in his despatch No. 338 E, not only have ration distributions been most erratic, but for several weeks hardly any fresh vegetables have appeared in the shops. Bread, too, has sometimes been difficult to obtain. An emergency purchase of 2,000 tons of flour had to be made last week in Cyprus at \$172 a ton f.o.b. and paid in dollars, compared with the \$120 a ton which, I understand, is the current market price.

5. The reasons for the pressing food shortage were described in Mr. Chadwick's despatch. It is now evident that there was not enough foreign exchange available to import much more food even if the Government had felt it necessary to do so. Such planning of expected foreign currency resources as had been made at the beginning of the year was badly upset not only by the unexpected influx of immigrants from Iraq, but also by the continuing sharp rise in world prices. The damage done to local agricultural production by last winter's drought had been known to the authorities months ago. What was apparently not so well appreciated, and in consequence has caused an even greater shortage of food than was expected, was that the main-

tenance of the Government's controlled prices for agricultural produce, having become increasingly unfavourable to producers in the prevailing inflationary situation, would result in a smaller flow of vegetables into the official markets than was planned.

6. Thus, the economic situation has taken a distinct turn for the worse. Inflationary pressure has further increased and is a root cause of the general malaise into which the internal economy appears to have sunk. The cost of living increases steadily. In recent weeks the prices of bread, meat, eggs and poultry have all been raised. Though price controls are still fairly efficiently maintained there are, as Mr. Lavon, the late Minister of Agriculture, pointed out recently at a special meeting of the Jewish Federation of Labour (Histadruth), too many people who refuse to do anything at official prices. "People spring on you," Mr. Lavon said, "as though they would cut your throat when they sense they are indispensable." This attitude is, of course, partly the consequence of the shortage of skilled labour. But it also stems from the fact that inflation and shops empty of anything worth buying have caused many to lose all sense of the value of money. More and more of the population, who consider themselves let down by the Government when their rations are not honoured, have been turning to the black market. There is no doubt that the situation is the worse for there having been no Government for so many weeks. But there are signs that, if the deterioration in the food supply was not enough, the current foreign exchange crisis is causing the authorities to do some serious thinking. The pace set has proved too much for the economy to bear.

7. There is no reason to think that the present exchange shortage is temporary, unless Mr. Horowitz's appeals to His Majesty's Government for a sterling credit meet a favourable response. As far as can be foreseen, Israel's early expectations of new foreign exchange resources amount to the proceeds of the citrus crop and other exports, the autumn collections of the bond drive and the United Jewish appeal in the United States, the remainder of the United States Export-Import Bank credits and American mutual aid. Of these, the proceeds of the citrus crop seem to be already earmarked if not even mortgaged; about half the allotment of mutual aid sponsored by the State Department was committed by the State Department for capital projects;

the Israel Government themselves have undertaken a similar commitment for the proceeds of bond sales (though they may be able to make a temporary diversion of these funds for consumer goods); the Export-Import Bank credits have limited to the expansion of agriculture (farming and irrigation equipment, seeds, fertiliser and livestock). Only the United Jewish Appeal funds, and perhaps the sum voted by Congress in the Mutual Security Act for settlement of Jewish refugees, appear to be freely available for the purchase of food and raw materials. What is more, the steady expansion of the population and of industrial production predicts a larger import programme in 1952 than in 1951, while bond sales and United Jewish appeal collections may well be less.

8. So far there is no clear indication of how the Government will meet this situation. It has, of course, been allowed to reach the present pass because there has been no Government enjoying parliamentary approval for the last eight months. The passages dealing with economic policy in the new Government's programme outlined in the Knesset on 7th October (my despatch No. 375 refers), if vague and containing possible incompatibles, give promise at least of some good intentions. But it may be doubted whether the Government itself will be stable enough to carry them out. Inflation is to be fought by "balancing the budget, absorbing surplus moneys and stabilising the currency." Taxation will be adjusted. Supplies of food and raw materials will receive priority. Ration distribution is to be improved, and an all-out war made on the black market by the introduction of severe penalties on violators. Production will be expanded with primary stress on food supply. A "considerable proportion" of immigration is to be channelled into agriculture. Agricultural prices will be set "with an eye to assuring economic security and a decent standard of living to the farmer."

9. The latter aim has already been inaugurated by the decision announced last week to raise prices paid to producers for vegetables by 30 per cent. The inflationary effects of this action are no doubt considered by the Government as a necessary risk to run in view of the imperative need both to get more local produce on to the market and to improve the attractiveness of agriculture for new settlers. A more difficult task will be to improve the distribution of

rations. Adequate stocks must be built up, through increased food imports. An improvement in ration supply is of basic importance in the fight against the black market. It is also essential if attempts to restrain demands for further inflationary wage increases are to have any success, for wage demands must not be allowed to be calculated, as they are at present, on the assumption that half the wage-earner's food has to be bought in the black market. Increased food imports will in present circumstances mean that capital imports will have to be cut in order to find the money needed. This in turn may involve a thorough review of previous development planning. In any case, a special committee was appointed on 11th October, consisting of the Ministers of Finance, Trade and Industry, Communications and the new economic Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Naphtali, to study the whole supply problem and to report to the Cabinet within twelve days.

10. The new Government's plans for fighting inflation differ little in outline from what has been tried in the past with no great success. The extensive changes in taxation which were said by Mr. Kaplan during the last budget debate (my despatch No. 372 E) to be in preparation, may help to encourage production; but unless accompanied by strong measures to improve the collection of taxes, they may still not result in the large increase in taxation which is badly needed. The term "stabilisation of the currency," used in the Government's programme, may mean many things; it would not be surprising if it were to include an early devaluation of the Israel £, though, however, drastically the £ might be devalued it seems unlikely that stabilisation could be achieved while the economy is subject to its present stresses.

11. The Government declares that it will continue the policy of giving special encouragement to increased agricultural production. This is essential. Much has been done, but it is not enough. Although temporary housing, expensive (perhaps unnecessarily expensive) American agricultural machinery and livestock, seed and fertiliser are provided to new settlers on easy terms, the new immigrants show little inclination to go on the land. They are not pioneers like the earlier settlers but for the most part "townees" with no agricultural knowledge, and intent only on living as they did whence they came. Moreover, this year has not

been encouraging for agricultural settlement. Last winter's drought must have caused great difficulties to newly-established settlements, which as yet have little land under irrigation. If this season's rains are up to normal, the incentives to settle on the land should be stronger. But more training facilities are needed, and probably also a firmer measure of direction of labour than has been shown hitherto. Direction of labour into agriculture would, however, be the harder to carry out since, at the same time, the shortage of foreign exchange may compel a reduction in imports of equipment, greater emphasis on manual labour, and greater hardship in farm life.

12. A rapid improvement in agricultural settlement could, I believe, only be achieved if accompanied by a simultaneous elimination of absenteeism in industry. As things now are, industrial workers earn within three or four days enough to keep them for the whole week and, with nothing to buy, they would not know what to do with more money if they had it. Absenteeism is consequently rife.

13. Whatever remedies may be attempted, some form of currency reform seems urgently necessary if production is to be stimulated. Yet there seems little prospect that, even after currency reform, receipts of foreign exchange would suffice to cover

minimum imports on the present scale, let alone a higher one. While, therefore, the form of American aid is such as to permit the continuation of a high rate of capital imports, the availability of consumer goods is not likely to be sufficient even for the present population. A further decline in the standard of living thus seems inevitable. Equally, however, and whether Mr. Ben Gurion likes it or not, the sacred policy of unlimited immigration must be reviewed. There is, in fact, now belated heart-searching about its practicability—as distinct from its rightness. As I said in my despatch No. 370, I doubt whether the Government are in fact positively discouraging immigration; but the unity of the public front on the issue has now been broken by several press articles, including one in the *Israel Economist*, a journal which enjoys close connexions with the Jewish Agency, arguing in favour of restrictions.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, the head of the British Middle East Office, His Majesty's Treasury and the Commercial Relations and Exports and Export Credits Guarantee Departments of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.
A. K. HELM.

E 1192/288

No. 27

ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST COMMAND

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Eden. (Received 7th October)

(No. 46. Saving) Tel Aviv,
(Telegraphic) 5th November, 1951.
My telegram No. 42 Saving.

In speech opening foreign policy debate in Knesset on 4th November Israel Minister for Foreign Affairs said that the question of Israel's participation in the regional command had not in fact arisen but that in view of current developments in the Middle East and throughout the world, and in the particular circumstances of Israel's economic and military position, Government was devoting every effort to strengthening the country's economic and defence potential in order to place it in a position to discharge successfully its urgent tasks of construction, to buttress its security and to contribute its share to the defence of regional and world

peace, should this prove necessary. The Government, he said, would strive to maintain relations of friendship with every peace-loving State whose policy towards Israel was friendly. Israel's vital interests demanded that, above all, her relations be close with those countries whose Jewish communities were free to further the fulfilment of her historic mission and whose Governments rendered practical assistance.

2. He said that the "invitations extended at one stage to the Arab States" to take part in the command had caused the Government serious concern. Israel could not but regard any arms given to an Arab State which not only refused to make peace but declared itself to be still at war with Israel as primarily designed for use against Israel at any

suitable opportunity. The wall between Israel and the Arab lands was born of their hatred and might at any time become a base for aggressive action against Israel. Democracy was an alien plant in the soil of most of the countries of this part of the world and the absence of peace in the Middle East and the rootless character of its so-called democracy increased the Government's anxiety for the fate of the Middle East in the event of a world war and impelled them to do everything in their power to strengthen Israel's own position in the region, to explore all possible sources of economic and military assistance and to broaden the conception of Israel's security and future.

3. Mr. Sharett preceded these statements by saying that though Israel hoped for mutual tolerance between the two great world forces of our time, it was a fact that only free democracy afforded Jews an opportunity to express their collective will, freely to organise their own communal activities, to foster their national culture, to come into

contact with Jews in other countries, to develop close ties with Israel and to help it to grow and develop. The defence of both peace and democracy was a *sine qua non* for the existence and creative powers of the Jewish people.

4. Apart from Deputy Raphael, who handles immigration in Jewish Agency and who expressed personal concern about effect on Jews still behind Iron Curtain, only Knesset opposition was voiced by Mapam and Communists. As usual this was violent and included appeal to army and workers not to submit to "this reactionary and anti-national policy."

5. Ground had been well prepared for Mr. Sharett's statement which, though cautiously worded, represents a further advance from "non-identification" in the direction of closer association with the Western Powers. It appears to have been well received by overwhelming majority of Knesset and it has a good press to-day.

ER 1017/35

No. 28

FUTURE PROSPECTS OF ISRAEL

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Eden.

(Received 29th November)

(No. 420. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 24th November, 1951.

Tempting though it is, I do not propose in this concluding despatch of my mission to Israel, which began with the opening of His Majesty's Legation on 17th May, 1949, to attempt a review of the events of the past two and a half years or an assessment of our advances and our set-backs. These have become history and to do so now would hardly be profitable. Suffice it to say that Anglo-Israel relations as such have now been established on a stable basis, a number of thorny questions have been settled, and Israeli suspicions of British policy and purpose have become dulled. Unfortunately in the general field of Middle East politics no comparable progress has been made, and peace between Israel and her neighbours seems little less remote than before. Responsibility for this regrettable state of affairs cannot properly be ascribed to one side alone. But, for what it is worth, the Israel professions of a desire for peace have so far found no echo from the Arab camp.

2. Rather would I, on the basis of thirty months' experience, seek to look a little way along the path which Israel seems destined

to follow. At best the path cannot be a straight one, if only because its determination is almost as much in the hands of others as of the Israelis themselves. The latter will, however, be my main concern and in the first instance some words about their character and outlook may not be out of place.

3. Leaving out of account the Arab minority of 165,000 the Israelis are all Jews. In this sense they are one people. But racially they are a congeries of peoples, more than half of whom have since the end of the Mandate in May 1948 been gathered from the four corners of the earth. Most of these are still strangers in Israel and their absorption will take years. They have, however, a common religion with the earlier settlers (whom one might, if the term can be used at all, qualify as the true Israelis) and all from the day of their arrival have diligently set about learning Hebrew which the Israel Government has been determined to make a second common bond. That is, however, only a first step and the ultimate effects of intermarriage and environment on all the settlers are incalculable. They will certainly be tremendous. Yet I doubt

whether, at least for generations to come, they will seriously modify the main characteristics of the Israelis as we know them to-day.

4. Nobody would suggest that these are of a nature to foster endearment, especially among occidental gentiles. They include secretiveness and suspicion, intolerance and arrogance, selfishness and self-righteousness. The Israelis know little of the spirit of compromise and are so self-centred and so intent on extracting the uttermost farthing from everything as frequently to be blind to their own main interests over a wider field. It seems to me that these and other like disabilities spring essentially from a profound inferiority complex born of centuries of oppression and persecution. A few years or even generations of freedom and statehood will not eradicate these, for they are terribly deep-seated. A simple ordinary experience of my own may serve to illustrate what I mean. I have the gentlest of cocker spaniels which it is my habit to take for a morning walk on a long lead. At first it amused me to give him just enough rope to get near any passer by whether child or grown up. Invariably the passer by drew fearfully away before I shortened the rope. More recently there has been timidly growing competition among the small boys of the neighbourhood to pat the dog—very fearfully at first—or even in one single case as a special favour to hold the lead. Something of this influence is more generally at work, though progress is naturally slower and much less noticeable. But it is visible among the sabras (locally born Israelis) some of whom I have heard described by Israelis as “hardly like Jews at all” though it cannot be said that the new confidence has necessarily made them any more attractive.

5. The Israeli, and particularly the pre-State Israeli, has, however, another side. Though almost devoid of craftsmanship, he is highly intelligent, industrious, forceful, persistent and resourceful. In so far as the future is concerned he is supremely confident. Difficulties—and they are many—spur him to further effort and his past successes in the face of overwhelming odds cause him to brush aside any idea of failure. For him the age of miracles is by no means over.

6. Whether justified or not, this faith is being put to tests which grow more severe as the months go by. The economic state of Israel is parlous and her Government has had to resort to all manner of expedients to keep things going. Normally the field for

these would be limited. But so long as Israel can draw on the reserves of world Jewry—and to this in spite of acute differences of approach I can in practice see no end—I do not think that economic difficulties will completely bring her down. Again, the problems presented by the absorption of immigrants and the composition of religious difficulties appear almost insoluble. But here again the will to succeed and to maintain the State of Israel will prevail. The persecutions of the Diaspora have left their mark on the newcomers. But they have also bequeathed their lesson and to me nothing in the past two and a half years has been more impressive than the fundamental unity of the Jews and the uncomplaining and almost cheerful way in which intense hardships are being borne. Acute political, religious and all sorts of differences exist and are freely vented. But underneath them all the fundamental unity remains firm.

7. What sort of a State do I see then emerging? Certainly a lay one and one bearing no resemblance to any present day Middle East country. It will have little of what is commonly regarded as the charm of the East. More likely will it in Western eyes have no charm at all beyond those unalterable beauties with which nature has endowed it. For generations also it is likely to be intensely nationalistic. But at least for the next formative generation it will draw its inspiration from the hard-headed and somewhat mystical central and eastern European leaders who founded it and whose ideas will continue to be imprinted on it. This does not, however, mean that Israel will become a Poland or a Roumania, for these leaders, though of East European origin, absorbed much of the West during long residence in and prolonged contact with England and America. Their ideas are therefore more Western than Eastern, democracy, even if somewhat deformed, is for them a real thing, and they have a constant awareness of their links with the West. Nor must it be forgotten that many of these leaders are British (Palestine) trained and that in many directions the former Mandatory's ways come most easily to them. In Israel many of the influences of the period of the mandate live on and Israelis are frequently ready enough to admit that ours are the standards at which they would like to aim. Above all is this the case in the fields of government organisation and social policy. In some other fields their borrowings from the West, and particularly from America, have been

less happy. But American influences—not by any means all unhappy—are also strong, and these, like the original East European background and the important British influences to which I have referred, cannot but show themselves in the edifice now in course of construction.

8. I suggest that it is this conception of Israel, quite as much as the bitterness of defeat, which feeds the Arab hatred of Israel and all its works. To them it may well appear to be western penetration in its most dangerous form—the establishment in their midst of a State with close Western connexions, with a culture and outlook quite foreign to their own and with a highly intelligent robust people who menace everything for which they themselves stand and which they hold dear. They see no possibility of compromise with it and can find hope only in its annihilation. But, if there is anything in this conclusion, it seems to me to be a desperate one. The Arabs may well have been right thirty odd years ago in opposing the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. But the past cannot be undone and to-day the annihilation of Israel by the Arab States is chimerical. Though the Arabs may realise this they have a long way to go before they will face hard facts and accept the to them entirely distasteful present situation. But if they could be brought to do so, I believe that their interests would thereby be best safeguarded.

9. Here I have particularly in mind the favourite Arab theme of Israel's expansionist ideas. I would not suggest that this is baseless for I have little doubt that most Israelis nourish the dream of an Israel embracing all the territory which history has known as Palestine and certainly all of it up to the Jordan. But the call for expansion has noticeably diminished since 1949—the Herut Party, which has been the protagonist of expansion, is in process of disintegration—and, in spite of immigration, there is no land hunger in Israel, where there are many fewer people working on the land than there were before May, 1948. Hardly any of the immigrants have been peasants and few have taken kindly to agriculture. They are, and wish to remain, town dwellers and this predicated an industrial State which seems also to be the policy of the Government. For this to develop, security, raw materials and markets are essential. Hence, if for no other reason, springs the Israel desire for peace with her neighbours, though Jewish charac-

ter, past victory, and consciousness of superior power alike prevent her from offering in advance any price for it. But she would gladly take it on the basis of the existing situation and—I believe—abide strictly by the bargain, the more so as it would be backed territorially by the Tripartite Guarantee of May 1950. Then would the way be clear for what I think responsible Israelis foresee—developing trade, a stable and prosperous Israel, and economic penetration of the surrounding countries with the establishment there of trading communities who might in time be the precursors of yet another dispersion.

10. It would be idle to pretend that any such picture of the consequences of peace between Israel and her Arab neighbours would be likely to induce in the latter a greater amenability over the mere principle of peace. But unless peace comes soon it seems to me that the prospects for them are no better. The Israelis will continue to make every sacrifice in the interest of the security of the State. The latter will continue its development in isolation from its neighbours, bitterness will grow, and the gulf between the two will widen. In such an atmosphere a resumption of hostilities would become well-nigh inevitable with the probability that the Israelis would start with at least an appearance of right on their side. The result, in the opinion of those competent to judge, would, after an initial Arab advance, probably be a successful Israeli counter-attack which would take them into Arab territory, possibly as far as the Jordan, from which they would seek to dictate peace. Whether then the Tripartite Guarantee could be effectively imposed is perhaps open to question. What cannot be questioned is that Jewish expansionist ambitions would be reawakened and that Israel's attitude towards the Arab States would be much more uncompromising even than it is to-day. Nor, I fear, would the results in the long run be any more happy for the Arabs if, contrary to general expectation, they were to defeat Israel militarily. For good or ill 1½ million intelligent and purposeful Jews are now concentrated in a tiny but key area in the Middle East. They can go nowhere else and any Arab State which set out to absorb them would, I think, be embarking on an impossible task. In any case it seems to me that in this field the key to the future lies as much with the Arabs as with the Jews. The one apparent certainty is that the latter cannot be removed and that they will

devote every necessary effort to the maintenance of their essentially drab and materialistic State.

11. I have written the foregoing against the background of the present Middle East situation. Should the latter change and particularly if general war should come in the near future, things would develop quite otherwise. This is, however, not the place in which to canvass the many possibilities which such a development would offer and even if it were I should not be so foolhardy as to attempt it. I would only venture to endorse the opinion expressed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in February to General Sir Brian Robertson that it would be more perilous for Israel than any of her present difficulties and that it, much more than they, would gravely menace her survival.

12. If only in justice to my Israel hosts I end on a more personal note. Just before I started my mission the late Mr. Bevin instructed me to take the Israelis as I found them and to treat them on their merits. My concern was the present and the future and I was not to let them talk about the past. In the circumstances of the time Mr. Bevin's words, which of course have been my guide,

ER 1053/26

No. 29

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAEL MINISTER

(1) Anglo-Israel Relations; (2) Middle East; (3) Arab Refugees

Mr. Eden to Sir K. Helm (Tel Aviv)

(No. 253. Confidential) *Foreign Office, Sir, 3rd December, 1951*

The Israel Minister came to see me this afternoon, when he handed me the enclosed Note in reply to a message he had received from Mr. Morrison. I said that the reply seemed to be in accord with what the Israel Foreign Secretary had told me in Paris. The Minister said that this was so, but he drew my particular attention to the last paragraph of the Note. I said that we were ready to consider this and that I would make sure that the Prime Minister saw this message. It was also of importance to him as Minister of Defence.

2. The Minister then spoke of the general position in the Middle East, and I said I thought that it was to some extent encouraging that the Arabs had not as yet followed Egypt in her attitude to the Four-Power proposals. The Minister agreed.

3. He also referred on his own account to the Arab refugees question. He said he was sure I was right in attaching so much

sounded like one of those things that are easier said than done. In fact, and leaving aside the very real difficulties of life in Israel, it seems in retrospect to have been comparatively easy. For this the Israelis are entitled to full credit. They have treated me with great consideration and have done much to facilitate the task of His Majesty's Legation. And on all hands we have received much kindness. It was as if they also were anxious to draw a sponge over the immediate and unhappy past and to lay a solid foundation for the future. Naturally enough they see their interests through their own eyes and, being Jews, they pursue them relentlessly. But I have not disliked their directness and they do not seem to have objected to mine. Perhaps one element in this was our belief in each other's sincerity. Essentially, however, it probably sprang from our respective assessments of the basic common interests of our two countries.

13. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

A. K. HELM.

relations I should like to see established between Great Britain and Israel. Your predecessor, Mr. Morrison, thereupon sent me a message on 23rd April, 1951, which I greatly appreciated. As I explained to your Minister here, I was not then in a position to respond to it officially, pending the general elections in Israel and the formation of a new Government. I have now put those views before my Government, and received its general approval for them.

2. We welcome the statement made in the message of the Foreign Secretary that it is the earnest desire of the British Government to see a strong, prosperous and peaceful Israel, and to co-operate with its people both in peace and in resistance to the dangers which threaten our countries. We are aware of the realities of the existing situation, which more than ever calls for our close co-operation along the lines I suggested to General Robertson.

3. We are willing to do our share in safeguarding the common interests of our

two countries and in promoting the aims of the free world in the Middle East and elsewhere, while at the same time ensuring our primary needs—the integration of immigrants, the development and security of our country and peace with our Arab neighbours.

4. We should welcome a growing measure of co-operation in furthering our mutual interests, preserving peace and resisting aggression. To enable us to play our part effectively, it will be necessary to strengthen our industrial potential, to develop means of transport and communication (ports, airfields, roads and railways), to improve the training and equipment of our armed forces on land, sea and air, and to provide stocks of food and fuel.

5. In our view, direct conversations on concrete plans might well be initiated now between our Governments.

28th November, 1951.

ER 1053/25

No. 30

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND ISRAEL FOREIGN MINISTER

Mr. Eden to Sir K. Helm (Tel Aviv)

(1) Anglo-Israel Relations; (2) Middle East

(No. 251. Confidential) *Foreign Office, Sir, 4th December, 1951.*

I enclose a record of a conversation which I held with the Israel Foreign Minister in Paris on 23rd November.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jeddah, Bagdad, Cairo, Washington, Moscow, Paris and Wahnerheide; to the Head of the British Middle East Office; and to the Permanent United Kingdom Representative to the Security Council in Paris.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

Enclosure in No. 30

Record of Conversation between Secretary of State and Mr. Sharett, Israel Foreign Minister, in Paris, on 23rd November, 1951

Mr. Sharett said he was glad to have a chance to explain his views on Anglo-Israel

relations and on the Middle East situation to Mr. Eden.

The situation, he said, was working towards a new "parallelism of interest" between Britain and Israel in the Middle East. Both countries wanted democracy, stability, and respect for treaties. The state of comparative quiet which now existed round Israel's borders was due to the series of armistice agreements which she had concluded with her neighbours. She naturally desired to preserve these, and the action of Egypt in tearing up the 1936 Treaty with Britain set a dangerous precedent. Moreover, it was Israel's prime interest that the Suez Canal should remain an international waterway. Israel, therefore, supported the British position in Egypt. General Robertson's visit had been a milestone in relations between the two countries, and the recent message from Mr. Morrison had been welcomed. A reply from the Israel Government would reach His Majesty's Government through the Israel Minister in London within the next week. It would show their

devote every necessary effort to the maintenance of their essentially drab and materialistic State.

11. I have written the foregoing against the background of the present Middle East situation. Should the latter change and particularly if general war should come in the near future, things would develop quite otherwise. This is, however, not the place in which to canvass the many possibilities which such a development would offer and even if it were I should not be so foolhardy as to attempt it. I would only venture to endorse the opinion expressed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in February to General Sir Brian Robertson that it would be more perilous for Israel than any of her present difficulties and that it, much more than they, would gravely menace her survival.

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2. The Minister then spoke of the general position in the Middle East, and I said I thought that it was to some extent encouraging that the Arabs had not as yet followed Egypt in her attitude to the Four-Power proposals. The Minister agreed.

3. He also referred on his own account to the Arab refugees question. He said he was sure I was right in attaching so much

importance to this problem, and he begged me to believe that his Government were sincere and wished to give help. I said I was glad of this and I hoped that we should be able to get something effective done soon.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jeddah, Bagdad, Cairo, Washington, Moscow, Paris and Wahner-heide; to the Head of the British Middle East Office; and to the Permanent United Kingdom Representative to the Security Council in Paris.

I am, &c.
ANTHONY EDEN.

Enclosure in No. 29

Reply from Prime Minister of Israel to Message from the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

During the conversations I had with General Robertson last February, I expressed my personal views about the

relations I should like to see established between Great Britain and Israel. Your predecessor, Mr. Morrison, thereupon sent me a message on 23rd April, 1951, which I greatly appreciated. As I explained to your Minister here, I was not then in a position to respond to it officially, pending the general elections in Israel and the formation of a new Government. I have now put those views before my Government, and received its general approval for them.

2. We welcome the statement made in the message of the Foreign Secretary that it is the earnest desire of the British Government to see a strong, prosperous and peaceful Israel, and to co-operate with its people both in peace and in resistance to the dangers which threaten our countries. We are aware of the realities of the existing situation, which more than ever calls for our close co-operation along the lines I suggested to General Robertson.

3. We are willing to do our share in safeguarding the common interests of our

two countries and in promoting the aims of the free world in the Middle East and elsewhere, while at the same time ensuring our primary needs—the integration of immigrants, the development and security of our country and peace with our Arab neighbours.

4. We should welcome a growing measure of co-operation in furthering our mutual interests, preserving peace and resisting aggression. To enable us to play our part effectively, it will be necessary to strengthen our industrial potential, to develop means of transport and communication (ports, airfields, roads and railways), to improve the training and equipment of our armed forces on land, sea and air, and to provide stocks of food and fuel.

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was forced to close the printing press. A Mapam member of the Knesset narrowly escaped injury. Another clash occurred in the poultry shed. The Mapam majority in this kvutza have refused to leave the settlement in accordance with an agreement which had been previously reached and are demanding a division of the property and the last harvest. A similar clash is reported from Ashdot Ya'acov in the Jordan Valley. Elsewhere in the country Mapai minorities are leaving Mapam-dominated settlements

and preparing to set up on their own account. Among the kibbutzim so affected is Givat Brenner, one of the largest and best known of all the collective settlements. The affair at Ein Harod has attracted a good deal of attention, and although outside authorities are doing their best to impose an armistice, the bitterness engendered here may spread rapidly through the rest of the kibbutz movement.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ER 1012/1

No. 32

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ISRAEL

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 4th July)

(No. 265. Confidential) *Tel Aviv,*
Sir, 27th June, 1951.

I have the honour to forward a report on leading personalities in Israel for 1951.

2. Apart from additional biographical detail a few additional names have been added to last year's list and a few judgments have been modified. For this general revision I have been indebted to the Honourable John Wilson, Third Secretary at His Majesty's Legation.

I have, &c.

A. K. HELM.

Enclosure in No. 32

Leading Personalities in Israel

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1. Agron (Agronsky), Gershon

Editor and journalist.

Born 1893 at Czernigov (Russia). Emigrated to the United States in 1916 and studied at Philadelphia University. Edited a Yiddish paper in 1917. Joined Jewish Legion in 1918 and on demobilisation settled in Palestine. In 1920-21 and 1924-27 head of the Zionist Organisation Press Bureau. In the interval he was editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in New York. Back in Palestine in 1924 he became correspondent for some English newspapers. In 1932 he founded *The Palestine Post* (now *Jerusalem Post*). He lost the financial control in 1948. In 1949 he became director of Israel Information Services, but resigned in February 1951, to return to the editorship of the *Jerusalem Post*.

Mr. Agron is Israel's leading English-language journalist, though of American rather than British outlook. He claims to be pro-British but is only really so on his own terms. In politics he is moderately Leftist. Had diplomatic ambitions and is disappointed that they have not been realised.

His voice and manner are strongly influenced by Lord Beaverbrook.

2. Aranne (Aharonovitz) Zalman

Secretary-General of Mapai and Deputy (1949).

Born at Yuzovka (Stalino) in South Russia in 1899. Attended the Agronomic Institute in Kharkov. Was a Zionist before the Russian Revolution and from 1920 was a member of the Central Committee of the underground Zionist Socialist Party. Came to Palestine in 1926. First a labourer, he later made a career in the Secretariat of Jewish labour organisations, finally becoming a secretary of the Workers' Council of Tel Aviv. He was a delegate to the World Zionist Congresses of 1933 and 1935 and is a member of the Zionist Organisation's Action Committee.

In 1935-36 Mr. Aranne was in London studying trade union questions on behalf of the Histadrut. In the latter he has held the posts of Treasurer, Head of the Publicity Department and Director of the Workers' Training College. Originally associated with the Achdut Ha'avoda (Union of Labour) movement, Mr. Aranne followed it when in 1927-30 it amalgamated with other groups to form the Mapai Party, but he remained faithful to Mapai when the Left-wing of the movement again broke away in 1944. In 1948 he became Mapai's first Secretary-General and a Deputy in 1949. In the Knesset he became chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, a position he held until February 1951, when he resigned to give all his time to the organisation of Mapai's election campaign.

Mr. Aranne, who is a forceful speaker, has played a prominent and constructive part in Knesset debates. In 1950 he was one of Israel's delegates to the General Assembly of the United Nations. He is also one of his party's leading political tacticians. A possible future Foreign Minister. Is friendly.

3. Argov (Grabovsky), Meir

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born in Russia in 1903. Active in the Histadrut's trade union department, he became a member of the Histadrut executive, chairman of the Tel-Aviv labour exchange and chairman of the Union of Israel Labour Exchanges. In the Second World War he served with the Jewish Brigade. He sat as a representative of the Va'ad Leumi Executive on the Emergency Committee of 1947-48 and was a Mapai member of the Provisional Council of State in 1948. In 1949 he was elected a member of the Knesset on the Mapai list. He was also a member of the Zionist General Council. In the Knesset he became the chief Mapai whip, and as such has played an important part in the recurring political crises. In February 1951 he succeeded Aranne (q.v.) as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee.

4. Auster, Daniel, O.B.E.

Born 1893 in Galicia. Studied law at Vienna University and was a Zionist in his student days. Came to Palestine in 1913 and taught in Haifa, till in 1916 he was called up for service in the Austrian Army. In 1918 he was attached to the Zionist Commission which then came to Palestine and started in private practice as an advocate. He was elected Municipal Councillor of Jerusalem in 1934, and became Deputy Mayor in 1935. Was out of office from 1945, but resumed his duties as Mayor after the relinquishment of the Mandate and remained in the city throughout the siege of 1948. He was a prominent member of the General Zionist Party, and represented it in the Provisional State Council of May 1948. But at the 1949 elections he presented a separate list of candidates under the title "For Jerusalem" and failed to obtain a seat. In September 1950 he joined the Progressive Party. The latter did badly in the 1950 municipal elections and Mr. Auster lost the mayoralty.

Mr. Auster, who also has business interests, speaks English and Arabic. He is regarded by the Left as rather an extreme representative of the well-to-do property-owning classes, and is not generally popular. Since 1950 he has been chairman of the "Israel-Britain Society."

5. Avriel (Überall), Ehud

Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office (1951).

Mr. Avriel was one of the leaders of the Zionist movement in Vienna until the *Anschluss*. He came to Palestine just before the Second World War and joined a kibbutz. In 1943 he went to Istanbul on behalf of the Jewish Agency and took part in the rescue of Jews from Germany. From 1945 to 1948 he was in Czechoslovakia and in 1948 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In June 1950 he was transferred to Bucharest. He accompanied the Prime Minister on his private journey to Athens and London in December 1950, and in April 1951 was appointed Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office. Agreeable and co-operative.

6. Bader, Menahem

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born 1902 in Poland. High school education. Came to Palestine in 1920. A member of Kibbutz Mizra. In the Second World War he took a leading part in the organisation of Jewish illegal immigration. Under the Provisional Government of 1948 he was Director-General of the Ministry of Labour and Reconstruction. In 1949 he was elected a Mapam member of the Knesset, and became chairman of its Economic Committee.

Mr. Bader is heavy, slow, Germanic and doctrinaire.

7. Bader, Dr. Yochanan

Heruth Deputy (1949).

Born in 1901 at Cracow. Studied law at Cracow University and was a leader of the Revisionists in Galicia. Active in Palestine as journalist and economist since 1940. Associated with the Revisionist paper *Hamashkif* and became editor of *Heruth* on joining that party in 1948. Elected Deputy, 1949 and chairman of the Heruth-Revisionist World Executive, 1950. He is also a member of the Heruth Executive Committee.

Dr. Bader is the leading Heruth expert on economics. He is a poor speaker but a clear thinker who commands a more attentive hearing than most members of his party.

8. Barkatt (Burstein), Reuven

Director of the Political Department of the Histadrut.

Born in Russia in 1906. Educated at Strasbourg and the Sorbonne.

Mr. Barkatt is a leading member of the Histadrut Executive Bureau of nine, and is Political Secretary and head of the Arab and Organisation Departments of the Histadrut. He is also a member of the Central Committee of Mapai. He led the Histadrut delegation to the United Kingdom in 1950. Speaks English, French and German. A pretty tough customer, but not unfriendly.

9. Barth, Dr. Aharon

Banker.

Born in 1890 in Berlin. Educated at Berlin and Heidelberg Universities and at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. One of the leaders of the Mizrachi religious Zionist movement in Germany. Came to Palestine and entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank, of which he is now General Manager (Chairman). He is also on the Board of the Foundation Fund and of the Hebrew University. During the World War he was chairman of the Executive Committee for the Enlistment and Relief Fund and for the National War Loan. In 1950 he was appointed chairman of a new State Corporation for the development of the Negev.

Dr. Barth is strictly orthodox. It has been suggested that he is one of those people who keep their high religious principles in a watertight compartment so that they have no effect on day-to-day business morality. A strong dignified man. Prepared (outwardly, at least) to be helpful.

10. Bar-Yehuda (Idelson), Israel

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born 1895 in Poland. Came to Palestine and joined Kibbutz Yagur, near Haifa. Was one of the founders of Achdut Avoda. Elected to the Knesset on the Mapam list in 1949, he became Mapam whip and soon made his mark as a parliamentarian. He is a member of the Zionist General Council.

Though an active member of the peace movement who has denounced United States "warmongers" and strongly opposes the rearming of Western Germany, he is one of the moderates in Mapam who oppose the out-and-out pro-Soviet line of the Hashomer Hatzair majority. At Mapam Council meetings he has stressed the Soviet Union's opposition to Zionism and its refusal to allow Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel and has strongly opposed undue subservience to the Communist bloc.

11. Beigin, Menahem

Leader of Heruth Party.

Born 1913 at Brest-Litovsk. Studied law at Warsaw University. At an early age joined the Revisionist Youth Movement, Betar. Appointed head of Betar in Czechoslovakia in 1936 and was head of its Polish

section in 1939. After Soviet occupation of East Poland he was arrested and sent to Siberian concentration camps. Released under the Stalin-Sikorsky agreement, he joined the Polish Army with which he came to Palestine in 1942. He later left it and joined the anti-British underground movement, becoming leader of the terrorist "National Military Organisation" (Irgun Zvai Leumi). He emerged in public after May 1948, when he announced the transformation of the Irgun into a political party, the "Freedom Movement" (Heruth), under his leadership. In September 1948, he succeeded in incorporating the majority of the Revisionist Party into it. Elected Deputy 1949. His party is firmly opposed to the Government, which he refused to enter.

Mr. Beigin is a lean, sinister-looking intellectual with vulture-like features and rimless glasses. His undoubted oratorical talent and keen intelligence are warped by bitter extremism. Hatred of the British is still one of his main preoccupations and he glories in his murderous past.

12. Ben-Gurion (Grin), David

Prime Minister and Minister of Defence (1948).

Born at Plonsk in Poland in 1886 of an orthodox Jewish family, he received a traditional religious education, which he managed to supplement. Early in life he became interested in the Jewish Socialist movement (Poale Zion). His activities as a revolutionary orator during the pogroms of 1905 led to his being blacklisted by the Russian Government, and in 1906 he emigrated to Palestine. He worked as an agricultural labourer at Petah Tikva and later at the wine cellars at Rishon le Zion. He continued his Socialist activity and persuaded the local Socialists to turn from Yiddish to Hebrew. In 1913 he spent a year studying law at Constantinople. In 1915 he was expelled from Palestine to Egypt, still being a Russian subject, and made his way to the United States. Here he helped to prepare pioneer settlers for Palestine and American Jewish units for the British army. He became a private in the Royal Fusiliers and returned to Palestine with General Allenby's army.

After the war he again became active in politics. He took part in the formation of the Achdut Avoda (United Labour) Party in 1919 and in the same year was elected to the Zionist Executive. He played a leading part in the creation of the Histadrut and remained its general secretary until 1933. In 1930, when Achdut Avoda and Hapoel Hatzair merged to form Mapai, he emerged as the unquestioned leader of the party. From then on he became an increasingly important figure in the Zionist movement. In 1935 he joined the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation and became chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem and the effective leader of Palestine Jewry. He was bitterly opposed to the White Paper of 1939, and events favoured his line rather than the restraint advocated by Dr. Weizmann, then the outstanding figure in the Zionist movement. The Second World War delayed the crisis. Mr. Ben-Gurion threw himself wholeheartedly into the war effort and the recruitment of Jews, though later his motives were probably more political than otherwise. In 1942, while Weizmann hesitated, he sponsored the Biltmore programme, which called for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth and army and unrestricted immigration. In 1946 he was interned for eight months for connivance at terrorism. In 1947, after the United Nations partition resolution, he was elected chairman of the National Council and put in charge of security and defence. When the Mandate ended he was already the appointed leader of a shadow Government. He took over the Defence portfolio and his personal energy and initiative were an important

factor in Israel's victory over the Arabs. The war was under his personal direction, and he emerged from it a national hero. After it he quickly and ruthlessly suppressed the private army of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and purged the army of Mapam leaders, destroying the separate identity of the Palmach and making the army his own loyal instrument.

In the 1949 elections Mapai emerged the strongest party and Ben-Gurion formed a coalition Government. He subsequently made periodical efforts to broaden his Government but without success. Disagreements with the religious parties became ever more acute and finally brought about the defeat of the Government in 1951. But the coalition continues to hold office pending new elections. Mr. Ben-Gurion spent May 1951 touring the United States, primarily to raise funds.

Mr. Ben-Gurion is a man of great energy and self-confidence and will brook no opposition. He is brusque and impulsive and enjoys defying conventions; emotional and with a streak of Messianic fervour; a forthright and determined leader with a direct and fundamentally honest approach. He is an admirer of Mr. Churchill and the England of 1940. He is a voracious reader, with a predilection for Plato, and speaks several languages, including English. His formidable wife comes from New York. His own health is none too good now and he is little seen socially.

13. Ben-Tov (Gutgold), Mordechai

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1900 at Grodizk near Warsaw. Attended the Politechnion and University of Warsaw and Law Classes, Jerusalem. Came to Palestine in 1920. A founder of the Hashomer Hatsair movement. Delegate to various Zionist congresses and member of the Zionist Executive (1935). Member of the Agricultural Committee (1938). Delegate to the Round Table Conference, London (1939). Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee (1942). Member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Labour and Reconstruction in the Provisional Government (1948). Deputy (1949).

Mr. Ben-Tov is essentially a man of Hashomer Hatsair. He is a member and resident of Mishmar Ha'emek, one of its leading communal settlements, where his wife runs the school, which has considerable local renown. For years he has been editor of *Al Hamishmar*, organ of the movement. He is a man of considerable erudition and speaks six languages, and has made a study of Arab-Jewish relations. Fellow journalists say that he will always be found on the side of the majority in Mapam.

14. Ben-Zvi (Shimshelevitz), Yitzhak, M.B.E.

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born 1884 at Poltava. Studied at Kiev University and was an active promoter of Socialist Zionism in Russia, Germany and Switzerland. Settled in Palestine in 1907. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14), was expelled from Palestine (1915), went to the United States, worked on preparing pioneers for Palestine, helped to recruit the Jewish Legion and served in it (1918-20). One of the founders of the Va'ad Leumi (General Council of the Jewish Community); from 1920 onwards member of its Praesidium and its president from 1931 to 1948. Twice appointed to the High Commissioner's Council, but resigned; in both cases on the immigration issue. Has been delegate at Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist General Council. A founder of the Histadrut and of Mapai. Member of the Provisional Council of State (1948) and of the Knesset (1949). Orientalist: author of many publications, especially on archaeological subjects. Chairman of the Institute for Research on Jewish Middle East

Communities. Member of the board of governors of the Hebrew University.

Mr. Ben-Zvi is the "grand old man" of Mapai; somewhat on the shelf to-day for old age, but still influential. He has the reputation of a disinterested scholar and idealist, and lives in a little wooden hut among the mansions of Rehavia. A probable candidate for the presidency.

15. Berger, Herzl

Member of the Knesset and journalist.

Born in Russia, 1904. Educated at Heidelberg University. Came to Palestine in 1934 after having been prominent in Germany and Poland in the Zionist cause. Since 1935 a member of the editorial board of *Davar*, the Histadrut paper. He also edits a German language weekly for Mapai called *Dapim* and on occasion takes a strongly anti-Cominform line. Nominated to a Mapai vacancy in the Knesset, February 1951.

Mr. Berger is a slight little man with a wry neck and is pleasant with a rather shy sense of humour. He and his wife live in one of the poorest quarters of Tel Aviv where Mrs. Berger, a doctor, is greatly beloved.

16. Bernstein, Dr. Perets (Friedrich)

Leader of General Zionist Party (1943).

Born in 1890 at Meiningen (Germany). Studied at Meiningen University and Eisenach. Was in business in Germany and Holland, 1907-35. On the Executive of the Zionist Organisation of Holland from 1924 and its president in 1930-34. Came to Palestine in 1935. In 1937 he entered the Executive of the General Zionist Party and founded its paper *Haboker*, which he edited till 1946. President of the party since 1943; unanimously re-elected in November 1949. He entered the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency in 1946 and in 1947 became head of its trade and industry department. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Trade, Industry and Supply, with responsibility for war-time controls. He later resigned from the Jewish Agency Executive. Elected Deputy, 1949, he declined to serve in the present Government. In January 1951 he caused a sensation in the Knesset by openly doubting the wisdom of unlimited immigration. He favours closer relations with the Western Powers.

Dr. Bernstein is regarded with the respect due to a senior statesman. A rather massive person, he speaks quietly and without rhetorical effects, but his authority (particularly on economic questions) is such that Government supporters devote much time to refuting him.

17. Biran (Bergman), Dr. Avraham

District Commissioner for Jerusalem (1948).

Born in 1909 at Petach Tikvah. Educated at Reali Intermediary School, Haifa, and Teacher's Seminary, Jerusalem. Graduated at John Hopkins University, Baltimore (M.A., Ph.D.).

From 1928 onwards worked as teacher in Haifa and Baltimore. Later held a fellowship at the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, specialising in archaeology. Has participated in archaeological expeditions in Palestine, Syria, Transjordan and Iraq. In 1937 he entered the Palestine Government service as Cadet District Officer, Nazareth, and served as District Officer in various towns in northern Palestine. In 1946 he became District Officer in Jerusalem and at the end of the Mandate he entered the service of Israel as assistant Military Governor of the City. When military government ceased he became District Commissioner (or "Government Representative") for Jerusalem.

18. Brodetsky, Dr. Selig

President of the Hebrew University (1949).

Born in 1888 at Olviopol (Ukraine). Came to England at an early age. Studied mathematics at Cambridge (M.A.), London (B.Sc.), and Leipzig (Ph. D.). Lecturer at Bristol University (1914-19) and from 1920 onwards at Leeds University, becoming Professor of Applied Mathematics in 1924. Long associated with the Hebrew University, he was deputy chairman and then chairman of its Board of Governors. He resigned from positions in the United Kingdom and assumed the key functions of president of the University and chairman of its Executive Council in October 1949.

Professor Brodetsky is a Zionist of some standing as well as a mathematician and author. He belongs to the General Zionist Party. He has played a leading rôle in the English Zionist Federation and has been a member of the Executive of the World Zionist Federation and of the Jewish Agency, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews (1939-49), chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee and president of the World Maccabi Union. During the World War he did valuable research work for the Air Ministry. He is a vigorous though somewhat blatant personality. Now in bad health.

19. Bustany, Wadi Ibrahim

Leading Arab in Haifa.

Born in Debieh, Lebanon, in 1888. Educated at the American University of Beirut. Taught Arabic there and in 1919 became dragoman at the British Consulate at Hodeidah. After two years he was appointed to a post in the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works, and later taught Arabic to the children of a Maharajah in Bombay. In the First World War he spent the first two years in South Africa and came to Palestine in 1918 as adviser to the military administration. He resigned in 1920 because of his opposition to the Jewish National Home, became a pronounced nationalist and an active politician. In 1923 he acted as secretary to the Palestine Arab Delegation to London. In 1942 he was called to the Palestine Bar. He retired in 1946 to devote himself to literature.

A member of the Maronite community, he has a high reputation in the Arab world as a poet and man of letters. He has translated into Arabic Dr. Weizmann's autobiography "Trial and Error." In spite of his opposition to the Jews under the Mandate he is respected by the Israel authorities.

20. Chazan, Yaakov Arieh

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1899 in Brest-Litovsk. Attended a technical college. One of the founders of the Hashomer Hatsair movement in Poland and of its world organisation. Came to Palestine in 1923 and helped to found the Kibbutz at Mishmar Ha'emek, where he still resides. Is on the Secretariat of the Hashomer Hatsair Federation (Kibbutz Artzi). Member of the Zionist General Council and delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1928. Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee. Member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund. Deputy 1949.

Mr. Chazan is one of the most active Mapam leaders. He is given to immoderate statements and in a speech early in 1949 described Soviet Russia as his "second homeland." He is opposed to coalition with Mapai except on Mapai's own terms.

21. Chizik, Isaac

Director-General of the Negev Authority (1950).

Born 1907 at Sejera, Palestine, of a well-known local family. Educated at Tel Aviv and at University of Chicago and London School of Economics. Ph.B., M.A.

Joined Palestine Government in 1935 as district officer in Tulkarm, Lydda, Jerusalem and elsewhere. Director-general of Israel Police, 1948-49. Served in Prime Minister's Office and appointed director-general of Negev Authority, 1950.

Critical of the progress made by the Mandatory Government in developing Palestine, Mr. Chizik has thrown himself with enthusiasm into the task of the development of the Negev. Able and friendly.

22. Cohen, Haim (Herman Cohn)

Attorney-General (1950).

Born in 1911 at Lübeck (Germany). Studied at Universities of Munich, Hamburg and Frankfurt. Came to Palestine in 1933 and studied at the Hebrew University and Rabbinical College, Jerusalem, in private legal practice 1937-48. In 1948 he became secretary of the Jewish Agency's Legal Council and was engaged in legal work in preparation for independence. In June 1948, he entered the civil service as State Attorney and Director of the Department of Prosecution in the Ministry of Justice; he later became Director-General of the Ministry as well. Appointed Attorney-General, February 1950.

23. Comay, Michael Saul

Diplomat.

Born in 1908 at Capetown. Educated in South Africa (B.A., LL.B.) and practised at the South African bar till 1940. Served with South African Forces, 1940-46, in the Western Desert and in Britain, in Military Intelligence (Captain) and Army Education (Major); twice mentioned in despatches. After the war he came to Palestine as special representative of the South African Zionist Federation and entered the service of the Jewish Agency Political Department. Was attached to the Jewish delegation to the United Nations, 1947-48, and since May 1948, has been Director of the British Commonwealth Division in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Comay is highly intelligent and able. He talks well and is outwardly friendly. Perhaps better to tell him too little rather than too much. Both he and his wife (who has little real love for the British) seem less able than most to take even the slightest criticism of anything appertaining to Israel. Their two children, unlike their parents, have not renounced British (South African) nationality.

24. Dan, Hillel

Managing director, Solel Boneh.

Born in 1900 at Vilna. Veteran Commander of the Haganah. Has held a series of increasingly important administrative posts in the Histadrut and is now a member of its Executive. He helped to relaunch Solel Boneh after its 1922 bankruptcy and make it a success, and since 1935 he has been responsible for policy in all Histadrut industrial enterprises. He is a director of the Israel Mining Company, a Government concern formed to exploit minerals in the Negev.

Mr. Dan is a dictatorial character, who inspires respect but also fear in his subordinates. Said to be ruthless but a man of this word. Hates paper work but has remarkable memory for salient facts and figures. Speaks no English.

25. Dayan, Aloof (Brigadier) Moshe

Military Officer.

Born 1916 Degania (Galilee). Brought up at the co-operative settlement of Nahalal. Early associated with the Haganah and was a volunteer in Wingate's "night squads." Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in 1939 for illegally engaging in secret military training, he was released in 1941 to join a scout unit formed to assist the British Army in Syria against the Vichy French. He lost his left eye in the fighting and

now wears an eyeshield. In 1948-49 he commanded a Palmach Brigade and later was Military Commander of the Jerusalem area. He then headed the military section of the Israel mission at the armistice negotiations in Rhodes. On his return, was appointed chief Israel delegate to the four Mixed Armistice Commissions. Relinquished this appointment in November, 1949, becoming Regional Commander of the Southern Area with promotion to rank of Aloof.

Brigadier Dayan, one of Israel's most successful young officers, has shown skill not only in operations but also as a negotiator. Son of a Mapai deputy, he could himself, but for his present pursuit of a military career, now be a member of the Knesset.

26. Dori (Dostrovsky), Rav-Aloof (Major-General) Yaakov

Former Chief of Staff. President of Haifa Technical College.

Born 1899 at Odessa. In Palestine since 1906. Studied at Reali School, Haifa. Served in the Jewish Legion 1918-21, becoming sergeant-major. Studied at University of Ghent, Belgium, 1922-26, graduating as civil engineer. 1926-29, served in technical department of Palestine Zionist Executive. Associated from the start with the Haganah, from 1929 onwards he was entirely engaged in its service, becoming head of its training department, and, from 1939, its Chief of Staff. In 1945-47 spent eighteen months in the United States. Emerged into the open as Haganah leader in May, 1948, and directed military operations throughout the Arab war. In November, 1949, he relinquished the post of Chief of Staff and went abroad on sick leave. On his return he was seconded to the Prime Minister's office (May, 1950) to act as Head of its Science Division, representing the Prime Minister in relations with various scientific bodies. In February 1951 he became president of the Haifa Technical College, continuing part-time as head of the Scientific Division. He also became chairman of the board of directors of the Israel Mining Company, a Government development organisation.

Rav-Aloof (Major-General) Dori is a man of broad culture and a good linguist who has spent much time in studying military literature and arranging for the production of military text books in Hebrew. A small bespectacled man, he looks more like a professor than a military commander, but he had experience of fighting in the Arab disturbances of 1921, 1929 and 1936-39. He has the reputation of being politically impartial, very hard working and personally modest. The reason given for his retirement from the army was weak health, and he undoubtedly suffers from an ulcerated stomach. But there were other reasons, among them his attachment to Haganah tradition and unadaptability to the needs of a modern army and his reluctance to weed out officers associated with Mapam.

27. Efer, Yaakov

Co-operative Manager.

Born in 1895 at Kishinev (Bessarabia). In Palestine since 1913. Manager of the Labour weekly *Hapoel Hatzair*, 1913-15. Starting as member of Degania communal settlement (1915-18), he made a career in the secretariat of the Agricultural Workers' Union and other labour associations, and became secretary of the Histadrut Executive Committee and manager of the Workers' Sick Fund (Kupat Holim). Since 1931 he has been Chairman of the Union of Co-operative Consumers' Societies. Edited the fortnightly bulletin *Co-operative Economics*. In 1934 he represented Mapai at the International Co-operative Alliance congress in Manchester. Has also been a

labour delegate at several Zionist Congresses. He is now Managing Director of Hamashbir Hamerkazi (the Histadrut's wholesale purchasing co-operative), a Director of the Workers' Bank, and member of the Histadrut Executive Committee.

Manager of one of the most powerful economic concerns in the country, Mr. Efer is an influential supporter of Mapai, on whose list of candidates his name appeared (as a matter of form) at the 1949 elections. He speaks English and has had long and friendly relations with the management of the Co-operative Wholesale Society in the United Kingdom. A pleasant man of quiet demeanour.

28. Elath (Epstein), Elijahu

Minister, London (1950).

Born in 1903 at Snovsk (Ukraine), son of a timber merchant. Graduated at a non-Jewish school and began studying medicine at Kiev but was imprisoned in 1922 for participation in a secret congress of the Zionist Youth Movement. In 1923, after a short period of underground Zionist activity in Moscow, he made his way to Danzig to participate in a world conference of Hechaluts (pioneers). Remained in the Baltic for a year, organising illegal emigration from Russia via Latvia to Palestine, where he settled himself in 1925. Worked as agricultural labourer (secretary of the Rehovoth Labour Council) and construction labourer in Transjordan. Arabic studies at universities of Jerusalem and Beirut (1928-31). Fought as a Haganah commander during the Arab disturbances of 1929. Sociologist and orientalist; author of books on the Beduin (among whom he lived for many months), the people of Transjordan and the Lebanon. 1931-34, Reuter's representative, Beirut. 1934-45 Head of the Middle and Near East Division of the Jewish Agency. Travelled extensively in the area, including Persia and Turkey. From 1945 onwards the Agency employed him on various political missions in the United States, including the San Francisco conference. On the declaration of independence he became Israel diplomatic representative in Washington, his status being raised in February, 1949, to that of Ambassador. Transferred to London as Minister in June, 1950.

29. Eliashar, Elijahu

Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem (1951) and member of the Knesset.

Born in 1899 at Jerusalem of an old established family of local landowners. Served in the Turkish Army 1915-18. Attended the French University in Beirut and the Jerusalem Law Classes and in 1922 entered the Palestine Government service. Was in charge of the Trade Section and Official Receiver of Companies and Bankruptcies; edited the Official Census of Industries Report (1927-29) and the Government Commercial Bulletin. Left the service in 1934 and has since engaged in business. Is a director of several important commercial and financial companies and has been Managing Director of the Jerusalem Development Company and of Buildco, Ltd.

Mr. Eliashar appeared before the Peel Commission in 1936. He was on the Board of the Jerusalem Jewish Council, and became president of the Sephardic Community in Jerusalem. Elected a member of the Knesset in 1949, he became more openly critical of the Government. Finally, in May 1951, he had to resign leadership of the United Sephardim movement, of which he represented the wealthy Right-wing element. He was the first politician openly to propose in the Knesset (May 1950) that Israel should abandon neutrality and adopt a Western orientation. Has been deputy Mayor of Jerusalem since January 1951.

30. Eliashiv (Friedman), Dr. Shmuel

Minister at Moscow (1951).

Born in 1899 in Pinsk of a distinguished rabbinical family. Educated at Kovno, Kharkov and Toulouse. An active Zionist since his earliest days and from 1929-46 a member of the Zionist Executive. He came to Palestine in 1934 and later became a member of the Secretariat of the Histadrut Executive.

In August 1948 he was appointed director of the Eastern European Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He was appointed minister to Prague and Budapest in April 1950 and was transferred to Moscow in February 1951.

Dr. Eliashiv is an unkempt and slightly lugubrious individual, studious and somewhat reserved. He knows Russian well and speaks English, though he is happier in French.

31. Eshkol (Shkolnik), Levi

Jewish Agency Treasurer (1949).

Born in 1895 at Ortovo (Ukraine). Received a high school education at Vilna and came to Palestine in 1914. In 1918 he served in the Jewish Legion. He then participated in the foundation (1920) of two communal settlements (Degania "B" and Kiryat Anavim, both of the Hever Hakvutsot) and the smallholders' settlement of Atarot (1922). Always associated with agricultural enterprise and author of numerous articles on colonisation, in 1935 he became a Director of "Nir," the Histadrut agricultural credit institution, and a member of the Histadrut's Central Agricultural Council. Founder and manager of the "Mekorot" water company (1937). Now also a director of the Workers' Bank and of the public works and housing corporations "Bizur" and "Amidar."

In 1948 Mr. Eshkol served for a time as one of the three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government. A member of the Zionist General Council, and for some years associated with the Jewish Agency, he then became Director of the Agency's Agricultural Settlement Department. In October, 1949, he was appointed acting treasurer of the Agency and was confirmed in that post by the Executive Plenary in January, 1950. In politics he is closely associated with Mapai.

32. Even (Eban), Aba (Aubrey Solomon)

Head of Israel Delegation to United Nations (1948) and Ambassador, Washington (1950).

Born in 1915 at Capetown of a Lithuanian Jewish family. Brought up in England and educated at Cambridge (1934-39), where he obtained a triple first in Arabic, Hebrew and Persian. Associated with the Zionist Movement from boyhood. Representative at the World Zionist Congress, Geneva, 1939. Commissioned in the British Forces, 1939, and sent to the Middle East as Chief Arab Censor at G.H.Q., Cairo, 1940. In 1942 he was appointed liaison officer with the Jewish Agency for special operations in the event of German occupation of Palestine. 1943, appointed Chief Instructor, Middle East Arab Centre, Jerusalem. 1946, head of the Jewish Agency's Information Department, London. Participated in the World Zionist Congress, Basle, 1946. Jewish Agency liaison officer with the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine, 1947. Went with the latter to New York, where he remained, assuming leadership of the Israel Delegation to the United Nations in July 1948. In May 1950 he was appointed to succeed Mr. Elath as ambassador in Washington, at the same time remaining Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

Mr. Even (hardly known, even in Israel, by any name but his original one of Eban) is highly intelligent. Joyful in private intercourse, he is a very sharp controversialist in his official capacity and has been an able Israel spokesman at the United Nations. He

is in the inner counsels of the Government on all foreign matters of importance. Like many leading Israelis he has too much on his shoulders.

33. Eytan (Ettinghausen), Walter George

Director-General of Foreign Ministry (1949).

Born in 1910 at Munich. Went to England as a boy. Naturalised British subject, 1926. Educated at St. Paul's School, London, and Queen's College, Oxford. Was lecturer on German philology at the latter, 1936-46. Joined the Royal Armoured Corps 1939. Transferred in 1940 to Naval Intelligence in which he served till the end of hostilities. 1946, settled in Palestine and till 1948 directed the Jewish Agency's Public Services College. May, 1948, appointed Director-General (Permanent Under-Secretary) of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Headed the Israel delegation to the armistice negotiations at Rhodes, 1948-49. He retains his interest in improving the quality of Israel's Civil Service and is now chairman of the Public Commission for Civil Service Examinations.

Mr. Eytan is a highly intelligent and cultured person with moderate views. He has the reputation of being a good organiser. He has perhaps less influence over foreign policy than his position would appear to warrant.

34. Galili, Israel

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1907 in Jaffa and received a secondary education in Palestine. Active in the Haganah from early youth, he was second-in-command of its underground forces and acted as its Commander-in-Chief during the first months of the Arab war in 1948. For a time he served as one of three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government, but quarrelled with Mr. Ben Gurion over the spirit and organisation of the Army and the rôle of Palmach in it, and was dropped. He has pursued the argument ever since, particularly as deputy (1949) and principal spokesman of Mapam on military matters. Though bitter about the Army Mr. Galili has shown himself conciliatory on other questions debated by Mapam and Mapai. In the winter of 1949-50 he was active in the negotiations between the two parties and led the Mapam minority group which wished to continue them. Though opposing the Israel Government's stand over Korea and the secession of the Histadrut from the World Federation of Trade Unions, he is a leader of the less extreme wing of Mapam, who oppose the out-and-out pro-Cominform stand of Hashomer Hatzair.

Mr. Galili is a resident member of the mixed Kibbutz at Na'an, which he helped to found (1930), and Chairman of the Regional Council in which it is comprised. He is a forceful speaker but lacks education.

35. Geri (Gering), Yaakov Meyer

Minister of Trade and Industry (1950).

Born at Shat in Lithuania in 1901, he was taken to South Africa as a child. He was educated at the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg and practised law in South Africa for some years.

In 1934 he settled in Palestine, and after working for a short time in a law firm, he went into business, becoming managing director of an investment company, chairman of a textile company and joining the boards of several other firms. He was active in all the South African enterprises in Israel, such as the Palestine Cold Storage Company. In October 1950, though not a member of the Knesset, he was asked to join the coalition Government as a non-party Minister and became Minister of Trade and Industry.

Mr. Geri has a high reputation as an executive and administrator but, even as a Minister, eschews politics. Not a time server.

36. Goldstein, Dr. Sydney

Scientist.

Born in 1903 at Hull, Yorkshire. Studied at Leeds and Cambridge (M.A., Ph.D. (1928)). Spent a year as a Rockefeller Research Fellow at the University of Goettingen and then worked at Manchester and Cambridge Universities. At Manchester, where he lectured in applied mathematics, he built up a school of fluid mechanics which has been described as "unsurpassed in Europe." At Cambridge he became a Fellow of St. John's. During the Second World War he worked on aeronautics at the National Physical Laboratory. He became chairman of the British Council for Aeronautical Research and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1950 Dr. Goldstein came to Israel and began building up from nothing a Department of Aeronautical Engineering at the Haifa Institute of Technology with American funds. In 1951 he became vice-president of the institute.

Dr. Goldstein is one of the few Anglo-Saxon Jews who have thrown up distinguished careers to help build up the Jewish State. He is a strong, forceful personality.

37. Granoth (Granovsky), Dr. Abraham

Progressive Deputy (1949).

Born in 1890 at Falesti (Bessarabia). Studied law and economics at Universities of Freiburg and Lausanne (Doctor of Law). Joined the staff of the Jewish National Fund in Holland, 1919; appointed its managing director, 1925; elected member (1934) and Chairman (1945) of its Board of Directors. In Palestine since 1922. Author of several books on Palestine land problems. Director or chairman of various development, settlement and water companies. Member of the Executive Council of the Hebrew University and president of two important cultural foundations.

In the Provisional Council of State (1948-49) Mr. Granoth was one of the six representatives of the General Zionists, but he left them at the foundation of the Progressive Party, of which he was elected Deputy (1949). He is not very active in the Knesset. He was at one time Chairman of the Finance Committee, but devotes himself mainly to the National Fund, of which he is now managing director.

38. Grossman, Dr. Meir

Head of the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency and chairman of the World Executive of the Revisionist Party.

Born in 1888 at Temriuk (Russia). Educated at the Universities of St. Petersburg and Berlin. He has been a Zionist from his student days. From 1915-22 he edited a Zionist paper in Germany with Jabotinsky. In 1919 he founded the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in London. He was one of the founders of the Revisionist faction in the World Zionist Organisation and was Jabotinsky's right-hand man until 1933. When Jabotinsky and his followers left the Organisation he founded a new party of Revisionists within the Organisation called the Jewish State Party. In 1934 he came to Palestine and became manager of a bank in Tel Aviv. He was also founder and first editor of the *Iton Meuhad*.

He is now a member of the Zionist General Council and remains leader of the Revisionists. He will have nothing to do with the present leaders of Herut and favours a coalition of all Right-wing parties.

39. Gruenbaum, Dr. Heinz

Investment Centre Director.

Born in 1905 in Prussia. Educated in Berlin where he was later employed by the Ministry of Economics as an economist and statistician. Came to Palestine in 1934. Managing director of the Palestine Electric Wire Company of Haifa, a concern in which British and Israel interests participate jointly. In 1948 he also became director of the Legal Section of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and in 1949 Director-General of the Ministry. At the end of 1949 he relinquished this post for the key position of Director of the Investment Centre set up to encourage foreign investment.

Dr. Gruenbaum is an intelligent and humorous person, who speaks good English. Able.

40. Gruenbaum, Yitzhak

Politician.

Born in 1879 at Warsaw. Studied law at Warsaw University. Started public life as a journalist and has published a number of books on political subjects. Entered the Polish Sejm in 1919 and became leader of the Zionist faction and President of the National Council of the Jews of Poland. In 1933 he came to Palestine and entered the service of the Jewish Agency, becoming member of the Executive, head of the Labour Department and later of the Absorption Department, and a director of "Bizur." In August, 1949, he became Jewish Agency Treasurer but resigned after two months, having quarrelled with the Government.

In May, 1948, Mr. Gruenbaum, who had long been leader of the so-called "A" group (middle-class) of General Zionists, entered the Provisional Council of State as a General Zionist representative and the Provisional Government as Minister of the Interior. Later he tried to found a "Radical Party" of his own, quarrelled with both General Zionists and Progressives, presented himself with three friends on a separate list at the elections of 1949 and failed to secure a seat. His prestige had suffered seriously through his having secured the release of his son, a Communist condemned to death in France for betraying Jews to the Germans while in a concentration camp in Germany. Isolated and discredited, he tried in March, 1950, to reassert himself by joining the Soviet-sponsored "Peace Movement." Towards the end of 1950 he began contributing articles to *Al Hamishmar* and flirting with Mapam.

41. Hacohen, David

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born in 1898 at Homel (White Russia). His father, a distinguished Hebrew writer and founder of co-operative financial institutions, brought him to Palestine as a boy (1907). Educated at Herzliya Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and the military school, Istanbul. Served as a Turkish Army officer in the First World War. Studied at the London School of Economics. A founder of Solel Boneh (1924) and now managing director of it and various other associated companies of the Histadrut and Chairman of the Zim Shipping Company. Municipal Councillor, Haifa, since 1927 and now Deputy Mayor (1948). Has been member of the Jewish Elected Assembly and the Histadrut General Council. During the Arab rebellion he was associated with Brigadier Wingate in the organisation of the "Night Squads." During the Second World War he collaborated with the Ministry of Economic Welfare in organising pro-allied broadcasts to Syria and supplied Solel Boneh personnel for work with the British Forces outside Palestine. An important member of the Haganah and believed responsible for its sapper work, in 1946 he was among the Zionist leaders detained at Latrun. Elected Deputy (Mapai) in 1949.

Mr. Hacohen is an energetic and forceful man and a dominant personality in Haifa, where he spends most of his time. A very successful business manager, he behaves more like a typical company director than a trade unionist. His wife (née Bracha Habas, which is still her *nom de plume*) is a prominent journalist and Mapai intellectual.

42. Hakim, Mgr. George

Greek Catholic Archbishop of Acre, Haifa, Nazareth and Galilee.

Born at Tanta, Egypt, in 1908. Educated at the Jesuit College at Cairo and St. Anne's Seminary, Jerusalem. Ordained priest in 1930, he taught at the Patriarchal School in Beirut and then became moderator and subsequently principal of the Patriarchal School at Cairo. He made a great success of this post. In Egypt he published a French periodical called *Le Lien* and he also founded an Arabic periodical called *Ar-Rabita (The Link)* which was published in Haifa.

In 1943 he came to Haifa as Archbishop. Though at first opposed to the founding of the Jewish State, he has found a *modus vivendi* with the Israel authorities and is allowed to pay visits to Beirut on church and refugee business. He is anti-Communist, but has not so far been active in organising opposition to communism in the Arab community.

43. Harari, Izhar

Progressive Deputy.

Born in 1908 at Jaffa. Educated at the Herzlia Gymnasium at Tel-Aviv, the Sorbonne, the Law School in Jerusalem and the London School of Economics. He also studied at the School of Journalism in Paris. From 1934 he was in private legal practice and in 1938 he became legal adviser to some municipal councils. He was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist General Council and of the Central Committee of the Israel Bar Association. In 1948 he joined the Israel army and was appointed president of the Military High Court with the rank of Sgan-Allof (Lieut.-Colonel). He retired from the army after his election to the Knesset in 1949. In the Knesset he became chairman of the House Committee and made a considerable contribution to the determining of parliamentary procedure. He is one of the leading legal experts in the Knesset and plays an active part in debates. He has advocated the unification of education and the passing of a series of fundamental laws to be eventually combined in one constitution. In July 1950 he was a member of the parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom.

44. Heftman, Joseph Chaim

Journalist.

Born in 1888 at Briansk (Russia). Religious education. Worked as editor and member of editorial board of various Hebrew and Yiddish papers abroad. Was on the Executive Council of Jews of Poland. In Palestine since 1934. Editor of the Hebrew daily newspaper *Haboker* (General Zionist) and President of the Jewish Journalists' Association in Israel. Member of the Zionist General Council. A prolific writer. In the autumn of 1950 he was one of a group of journalists who paid an official visit to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Heftman is a charming friendly person with courteous old-fashioned manners. But he is old for his years and situations are apt to escape from his control.

45. Herzog, Yitzhak

Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim (1936).

Born at Lomza (Poland) in 1888. Educated at Leeds University (M.A.), and is a D.Litt. of London

University. Also studied at the Sorbonne and Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris. Became a Rabbi in 1910. Was Rabbi of Belfast (1916) and Chief Rabbi of the Irish Free State (1925). Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazic Community in Palestine since 1936, resident in Jerusalem. Member of various learned societies and author of numerous books and studies.

A venerable-looking figure in a top hat, Dr. Herzog appears on all national occasions among the leaders of Israel. He is not much consulted by them but wields considerable indirect influence through the religious party in the Knesset. His denunciation of the Women's Conscription Amendment introduced by Mr. Ben-Gurion in the spring of 1951 produced a direct clash between the Rabbinate and Mapai, but on other occasions he has usually managed to keep clear of politics. He has the reputation of being sincerely anglophilic. A man of great learning and considerable acumen.

46. Hollander, Herman

Director-General, Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Born 1911 in Germany. Entered his father's firm, which sent him to Belgium, France and Sweden, and in 1931 to New York, where he remained until coming to Israel in May 1948. Made Under-Secretary of Trade, Ministry of Trade and Industry, 1948-49, and Director-General of that Ministry, 1949-50. Resigned. Again made Director-General (a political appointment) with additional title of Commercial Adviser to the Government, January 1951.

A Mizrahi member of the Zionist Executive and past chairman of the financial committees elected at Congress. Through his family business he has been instrumental in obtaining important international trading connexions for Israel. Cultivates the air of an American "big business" executive. Not a very pleasant personality.

47. Hoofien, Eliezer Siegfried, M.B.E.

Banker.

Born in 1881 at Utrecht. Attended Amsterdam Commercial College and entered a private banking firm at Amsterdam (1899). Public Accountant, Amsterdam (1903-09). Director of the Zionist Central Office, Cologne (1909-12). Came to Palestine in 1912 and entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank (now the Bank Leumi le Israel): assistant general manager (1912), joint general manager (1919), general manager (1924-47), chairman of the board of directors since 1947. Honorary president of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Chamber of Commerce. Chairman and managing director of the General Mortgage Bank and chairman of the Mortgage Bank. In 1948 he was appointed economic co-ordinator attached to the Prime Minister's Office.

He is a strong personality, influential with the Finance Minister. He has publicly urged a further reduction in Israel's standard of living to enable her to balance her payments.

48. Horowitz, David

Economist.

Born 1899 at Drohobycz (Galicia). Educated at Lwow and Vienna. Came to Palestine in 1919. Took part in land reclamation, Nahalal (1921). Member, Histadrut Council (1920) and Executive Council (1923). Author of books on economic and political subjects. Economic adviser to the American Economic Committee for Palestine (1932-35). Economic Adviser to the Treasury of the Jewish Agency, Director of its Economic Department and Co-Director of its Economic Research Institute (1935-48). Lecturer at the High School for Law and Economics, Tel Aviv. Was member of various Government committees of the mandatory régime,

including the Standing Committee for Commerce and Industry and the Textile Advisory Board. Appeared as economic expert before the Royal Commission of 1937, the Anglo-American Commission of 1946 and the United Nations Commission of 1947. Was attached to the latter as liaison officer and followed it to Lake Success as member of the Jewish Delegation. Director-General of the Ministry of Finance since May, 1948. Also "Economic Adviser to the Government" since May, 1950. A Director of Histadrut workers' housing companies and other enterprises.

Mr. Horowitz is a man of unusual energy and intelligence and dominates the Ministry of Finance. He has all the strings of financial and economic policy in his hands. Has shown himself a most able and skilful negotiator, and played the leading Israel part in the conclusion of the Anglo-Israel financial agreement of March, 1950, concerning the liquidation of the Mandate, and the negotiations for the release of Israel's sterling balances. Is wearing himself out.

49. Hushi, Aba

Mayor of Haifa (1951).

Born 1898 in Poland and educated there. Came to Palestine in 1920 and first worked as a labourer in Haifa port and in the settlements. Later occupied various positions in the Haifa Labour Council and became its secretary. He was one of the founders of the Palestine Labour Union.

In due course he became a member of the Histadrut Executive and of the management of Solel Boneh. In 1949, as a member of Mapai, he was elected to the Knesset, and remained a member until January 1951, when he was elected Mayor of Haifa.

A man of great energy, Mr. Hushi is dictatorial and ruthless but unquestionably able. He has great plans for the improvement of Haifa and is throwing himself wholeheartedly into them. He has for long enjoyed good relations with Arabs and advocated solidarity between Jewish and Arab labour.

50. Jarjura, Amin Salim

Arab Deputy (1949).

Born 1894. Attended the Jerusalem law classes and practised as an advocate in Nazareth. Elected one of two deputies on the "Democratic List of Nazareth" associated with Mapai, he has stood up in the Knesset for Arab rights with occasional success.

51. Joseph, Dr. Dov Bernhard

Minister of Communications (1950).

Born in 1899 at Montreal. Studied law at London and McGill Universities (Ph.D., LL.B.). Was President of the "Young Judea" organisation in Canada. Came to Palestine in 1921. Was in private legal practice in Jerusalem and for several years served as legal adviser and Deputy Head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, for which he went on special missions to the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and South Africa. Member of its Executive, 1945-48. One of the Jewish leaders detained at Latrun in 1946. Originally a Revisionist, he joined Mapai in 1933. In 1948 he became Military Governor of Jewish Jerusalem and successfully organised essential supplies during the siege. Elected Mapai Deputy, 1949, and appointed Minister of Supply and Rationing, he succeeded, despite much public grumbling, in applying an "austerity" programme of rationing and price control which did much to stem inflation. He was also "temporarily" Minister of Agriculture.

In the Cabinet reshuffle of October 1950, which was largely occasioned by criticism of his handling of economic controls, he took over the Ministry of Communications.

Dr. Joseph has a rather mild and unimpressive exterior, but is endowed with considerable courage and intelligence. By family connexions and personal inclination he is anglophile.

52. Kaplan, Eliezer

Minister of Finance (1948).

Born in 1891 at Minsk (White Russia), son of a merchant. Attended a secondary school in Poland and the Technical College in Moscow (civil engineer's diploma, 1917). A founder and leader of the Zionist Youth Movement in Russia, in 1918 he was sent to Paris as a Ukrainian representative in the Jewish Delegation to the peace conference, and also participated in Zionist conventions in Paris and London. Remaining in Western Europe, he took a leading part in organising (1920) the world centre of the Hitachdut Party (a merger of his Zionist Youth group with Hapoel Hatsair). As its representative he attended the Zionist Convention in London, 1920, and was elected to the Zionist Executive: repeatedly re-elected since then. Came to Palestine in 1920 and was sent to Berlin by the Histadrut as director of its World Office (1920-22). While in Germany worked as an apprentice in various factories. Returned to Palestine in 1923, and entered the Directorate of the Histadrut's Public Works Bureau (Solel Boneh) and the technical department of the Tel Aviv municipality. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, 1925-33. Member of the Va'ad Leumi from 1926 onwards. Served in various administrative capacities with the Histadrut and was a secretary of the Executive, 1929-33. Participated in all Zionist Congresses since 1920. Member of the Jewish Agency Executive since its enlargement in 1929.

On the foundation of Mapai, with which the Hitachdut party merged in 1931, Mr. Kaplan became a leading figure in the Mapai Executive. From 1933 to 1948 he was head of the Jewish Agency's Financial and Administrative Department. As such, he represented the Executive on the Directorates of numerous economic enterprises. He was a member of the War Economic Advisory Council set up by the Palestine Government in 1943. In May 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government of Israel. Elected a Mapai Deputy in 1949 he continued as Minister of Finance, also for some time assuming the portfolio of Trade and Industry.

Mr. Kaplan deputises for the Prime Minister and might get the succession. A man of ability, but with failing health, he is probably rather more conservative than most of his colleagues and inclines to compromise. Is genuinely pro-British in sympathy.

53. Karaman, Haj Taher

Arab land owner.

Born in Nablus about 1888. Has spent most of his life in Haifa, where for many years he has been prominent in the Moslem community. For sixteen years, until 1950, he was a member of the Haifa Municipal Council and for ten years Deputy Mayor. He was one of the four signatories to the manifesto issued by a group of Haifa Arabs in March 1951 calling for a regular Arab party.

Living a patriarchal existence in a village five miles from Haifa, he is one of the wealthiest Arab land owners remaining in Israel. He owns about 2,000 dunams of land and had interests in trade and in the manufacture of cigarettes. He is respected by Jews as well as Arabs. Said to have strong sympathies for Britain.

54. Kook, Hillel (alias "Peter Bergson")

Ex-Herut Deputy (1949).

Born in 1911 in Palestine, of a distinguished rabbinical family (his uncle was Chief Rabbi of

Palestine; his father, Head of the Fischel Institute for Talmudic Studies; his brother is Chief Rabbi of Tiberias). Graduate of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Joined the Haganah in 1930 and served in it during the 1936 disturbances. Much of his adult life has been spent in the United States. Founder and Chairman of the American Hebrew Committee for National Liberation and the American League for a Free Israel, which openly supported the terrorist and other activities of the Irgun Zvai Leumi. In 1948 he was detained for a time by the Israeli police in connexion with the Altalena incident. Elected Herut Deputy, 1949.

Within Herut he and Eri Jabotinsky led the opposition to Beigin and advocated a pact with the United States. In January 1951, after failing to persuade the party to adopt his views, he seceded from it. He is resolutely pro-American and anti-Russian.

55. Lavon (Lubianiker) Pinhas

Minister of Agriculture (1950).

Born 1904 at Kopyczunce in Poland. Studied law at Lwow University. A founder of the Gordonia Youth Movement, he came to Palestine in 1929 and with its first pioneers participated in the foundation of Hulda communal settlement, of which he is still a member. Active in foundation and enlargement of the federation of Mapai communal villages (Hever Hakkutsoth). Served in the secretariat of Mapai 1935-37, and has been on its Executive Committee since 1943. Member of the Histadrut Executive since 1944 and secretary-general from July 1949 to October 1950. Chairman of the Solel Boneh Council and member of the Zionist General Council. Mapai Deputy, 1949. Took a leading part in efforts made at the beginning of 1950 to bring Mapam into the Government. Led a Knesset delegation to the United Kingdom in July 1950. In October 1950 he became Minister of Agriculture, and has since been immersed in the crucial problem of obtaining food supplies for Israel. He is also responsible for food rationing.

One of Mapai's outstanding figures and a possible future Prime Minister. Previously little known to the public, he has made his mark as a very forceful speaker in the Knesset. Dignified and able, but somewhat lacking in education.

56. Levin, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir

Minister of Social Welfare (1948).

Born 1894 at Gur (Poland), the son of a Rabbi. After an ultra-religious education he helped to found and later presided over the Polish branch of the World Agudath Israel. Served as representative of Orthodox Jewry in the Warsaw Community Council and was for many years a member of the Polish Sejm. He frequently visited Palestine and, though opposed to political Zionism, did much to propagate the idea of immigration in orthodox circles.

Settling in Palestine in 1940, Rabbi Levin, as a leading member of the Palestine Agudists, went on several mission to the United States and later became Chairman of the World Executive of the Agudath Israel. He was one of the organisers of the "Rescue Committee" for European Jewry. When in May, 1948, the Agudists ceased posing as "non-political" and agreed to participate in the Government of the new State, Rabbi Levin entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Social Welfare. Later in the year his party combined with the Mizrahi groups to form the United Religious Front and he retained the Social Welfare portfolio after the 1949 election.

A small bespectacled man with a large beard, wearing a long black coat and skull cap, Rabbi Levin cuts a very rabbinical figure. He is given to making scenes over questions of religious observance, equality of rights for religious Jews and so on. But like many

ultra-orthodox Jews he combines reactionary obscurantism with shrewd business capacity. His Ministry is not badly run, though most of the initiative in the matter of social welfare really lies with other, private bodies.

57. Limon, Aloof Mishneh (Captain) Mordechai

Commander of the Navy (1950).

Born in 1924. Captain Limon has been concerned with naval affairs since 1942, when he enlisted in the naval branch of the Palmach. He ran training courses for the Palmach at Caesarea and later served in Norwegian and American merchant ships. In 1945 he was put in charge of an organisation, which proved abortive, for the organisation of Jewish immigration from Egypt. He then entered France with false documents and was active in organising illegal immigration into Palestine. In the Arab War he first served as navigator of an aircraft bringing arms and supplies from Europe and then, returning to the navy, took part in various engagements against the Egyptians. He became Chief of Naval Operations, and in December 1950 was appointed to his present post.

Limon has a quiet and pleasant manner and speaks good English. He appears to be respected by members of his Service but is not an outstanding personality.

58. Livneh (Liebenstein), Eliezer

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born 1902 at Rostov (Russia). Educated at a secondary school in Germany and privately in Germany and England. Came to Palestine in 1922 and became a member of Kibbutz Ein Harod. Visited Germany from 1929 to 1931 and on return to Palestine joined Mapai. In 1935-36 he was in the United Kingdom on behalf of the Kibbutz Meuhad movement. He became in due course a member of the Histadrut executive and one of Mapai's leading publicists. He served on the editorial staff of *Davar* and the Jewish Agency "Maarachoth" and from 1948-49 was editor of the Mapai daily newspaper *Hador*. He became very anti-Soviet and now edits his own weekly paper *Beterem*. In 1950 he declined an offer of the post of Director of the Voice of America Hebrew broadcasts.

Mr. Livneh, a strong supporter of Mr. Ben-Gurion and one of Mapai's more intelligent backbenchers, belongs to the extreme Right wing of the party. He has always been a bitter opponent of Hashomer Hatzair.

59. Locker, Berl

Chairman, Jewish Agency (1948).

Born in 1888 in Russia. Studied economics and political science at Czernowitz University. Came to Palestine before the First World War and helped to found the labour movement. Originally member of the Poalei Zion party (World Secretary 1918-28 and United States Secretary 1928-31) he later joined Mapai. Member of the Jewish Agency Executive since 1931 and its representative in London from 1937 onwards, he succeeded Mr. Ben Gurion as its Chairman in 1948.

Mr. Locker has spent a large part of his life abroad. He took an active part in the World Federation of Trade Unions as representative of the Histadrut. He speaks fluent English, and is friendly but not very impressive.

60. Maimon (Fishman), Rabbi Yehuda Leib

Minister for Religious Affairs (1948).

Born in 1875 at Marculesti (Bessarabia). Educated at religious colleges in Lithuania and became a rabbi

in 1900. A founder (1904) and leading member of the Mizrachi organisation. Served as rabbi in Bessarabia, 1905-13, and emigrated to Palestine in 1913. Condemned to death in 1915 by the Turks but expelled to Egypt after American Zionist intervention. Spent the rest of the war in the United States. Returning to Palestine he was largely instrumental in setting up the Chief Rabbinate (1921). Founder of the Mizrachi Bank and of the Mizrachi newspaper *Hator*, which he edited for many years. Member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1935) and its Deputy Chairman in Jerusalem. Founder (1936) and Head of the Rabbi Cook Institute in Jerusalem for dissemination of religious literature. Chairman of the Central Committee of the World Mizrachi Organisation. One of the many Zionist leaders detained at Latrun in 1946. 1948, member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister for Religious Affairs and War Victims in the Provisional Government. Arranged an electoral alliance with the Agudists and headed the combined list of candidates (Religious Bloc). Elected Deputy (1949) and assumed the same portfolios in the present Government, from which he has already resigned three times.

A learned theologian, author of various books and essays, editor of a monthly review and owner of a large and valuable library, Rabbi Maimon is a pillar of orthodoxy. After his arrest in 1946 he raised an outcry because it had implied his being forced to travel in a bus on the Sabbath. He favours the restoration of the Sanhedrin as a supreme tribunal to reform and modernise archaic religious regulations and thus to strengthen the authority of the Jewish religion. Dressed like any layman and wearing only a small trimmed beard, he is himself a somewhat modernised rabbi.

61. Makleff, Aloof (Brigadier) Mordechai Deputy Chief of Staff (1949).

Born in 1919 at Motza, Palestine, of a family most of whose members were murdered by Arabs in 1929. Graduate of the Technical College, Haifa. On leaving it, joined Wingate's "night squads" and served in the Haganah. Joined the British Army in 1941 and served till 1945, first with the Buffs in the Middle East and then in the Jewish Brigade in Europe, rising to the rank of major. Was an officer of the Israel unit which took Haifa from the Arabs in April, 1948, and subsequently fought as junior and senior officer (Divisional Chief of Staff) throughout the 1948 campaign in Galilee. Headed the military delegation at the armistice negotiations with Lebanon and with Syria, 1949, and then became Director of Staff Duties. Deputy Chief of Staff since November, 1949. Quiet and unobtrusive in manner, but said to be very efficient and has a high reputation as a

62. Meridor, Yaakov

Herut Deputy (1949).

Born 1913 in Poland. Came to Palestine in 1932 and worked as a mason and builder. Joined the Herut movement in 1937. Was several times imprisoned as a terrorist. He was commander of the Irgun Zvai Leumi from 1941-42 and second-in-command under Beigin from 1942 onwards. In 1941 he was employed by the British army and took part in the suppression of the Rashid Ali revolt in Iraq. He was arrested and exiled to Kenya in 1945 but escaped to Paris and took command of the Irgun in Europe. He returned to Israel in May 1948. In June 1948 he was arrested by the Israel Government at the time of the "Altalena" episode, but was released after a hunger strike. He is a member of the Herut Executive Committee and one of Beigin's chief lieutenants.

63. Meroa (Muenzner), Dr. Gershon Yaakov Economist and official.

Born 1904 at Mannheim, Germany. Studied at the University of Heidelberg where he took the degrees of doctor of laws and doctor of economic science. Lecturer in commercial law, 1928. Served in various Government capacities, 1929-32. Left Germany in 1932 for Palestine where he was first employed with Barclays Bank. Manager of the Jacob Japhet Bank, Tel Aviv, 1934-35. Financial and economic adviser to Solel Boneh, 1945-48. Since 1948, director of the Economic Division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. During 1950 was also for some months director-General of the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Has written several books on sociological, economic and legal subjects and on Germany. Published, 1944, "Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine" in co-operation with Ernest Kahn, and, 1947, "Labour Enterprise in Palestine." Extremely intelligent, Dr. Meron is a friendly and likeable person, strongly pro-British and keen to strengthen Anglo-Israel relations. In spite of a somewhat sorrowful demeanour, he has a strong sense of quiet humour.

64. Mikunis, Shmuel

Communist Deputy (1949).

Born in 1904 in Poland. Came to Palestine in 1921. Employed by the Shell Company as an engineer in Tel Aviv. Worked with the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement. Imprisoned in 1941 for illegal Communist activities. Published *Kol Ha'am* in Tel Aviv, 1944, and was at one time Secretary-General of the League for Friendly Relations with the U.S.S.R. Studied tactics and propaganda methods of Communist organisations in France and after the World War was in touch with French resistance and Jewish Communist circles. Communist member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. Elected leader of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945. As such, he represented the Party at the British Empire Communist Parties Conference in London, 1947, became Member of the Provisional Council of State, 1948. In 1948 he arranged a merger with local Arab Communist elements and was elected Deputy, 1949, at the head of the combined "Israel Communist Party" list. In the summer of 1949 he made a tour of East European capitals. In February 1951 he was summoned for organising illegal demonstrations against General Robertson.

Mr. Mikunis is reported to have been taken severely to task by the Cominform on various issues and may not now wield real power within the Communist party. But he is still ostensibly its leader in the Knesset, where he appears as a consistent supporter of Russian policy and virulent critic of the Government. He speaks fluent Russian and Yiddish.

65. Moses, Dr. Siegfried

State Comptroller (1949).

Born Lautenburg (Germany) 1887. Educated at the University of Berlin. Worked in Germany as a lawyer and notary public and became president of the Zionist Organisation in Germany. Came to Palestine in 1937. Worked as a lawyer, income-tax consultant and auditor. Became managing director of two trust companies. Appointed State Comptroller in September 1949. In his reports he has not hesitated to expose defects in Government organisation. Some Ministers have become very restive under his criticism, and the Opposition have used his reports as a stick with which to beat the Government.

66. Myerson (née Mabovitz), Mrs. Golda Minister of Labour (1949).

Born in 1898 at Kiev. 1906, emigrated with her father, a carpenter, to Milwaukee, United States, where she attended high school, graduated at the Teachers' Training College (1920) and joined the Poalei Zion (Socialist-Zionist) Party. Settled in Palestine in 1921, starting as member and agricultural labourer of Merhavia Kibbutz (Hashomer Hatsair), 1921-24. With Solel Boneh, 1924-26. Since 1928, member of the Working Women's Council and its representative in the Histadrut Executive. Associated with Mapai since its foundation (1930). Very active as Histadrut fund-raiser, frequently visiting the United States and the United Kingdom; spent the whole of 1932-33 in America in this capacity. Delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1929 and to the Imperial Labour Conference, London, 1930. Member of the Zionist General Council. Chairman of the Sick Fund (Kupat Holim), 1936-48. Member of the Va'ad Leumi, 1938-48. Director of a number of local economic and cultural institutions. Head of the Histadrut Political Department from 1940 and secretary of the Histadrut Executive, 1945-46. Member of the War Economic Advisory Council set up in 1943. Acting head of the Jewish Agency Political Department during the internment of political leaders in 1946, and head of its Jerusalem branch, 1947.

In May, 1948, Mrs. Myerson became member of the Provisional Council of State but resigned from it on appointment as Israel Minister in Moscow (August 1948 to April 1949). Elected Mapai Deputy in 1949, she became Minister of Labour and Social Insurance. Mrs. Myerson is a good and able personality and a good speaker, being probably Israel's best fund-raiser in the United States. She made no headway with the Russians and was not happy in Moscow, but with her organising capacity and long experience of labour questions she is well fitted for her present post, her husband died in May 1951.

67. Nakkara, Hanna

Arab Communist.

Born at Acre in 1912. Greek Orthodox. Educated at St. George's School, Jerusalem, the Aley School in the Lebanon, the American University at Beirut and Damascus University, where he studied law. Completed his law studies in Palestine in 1936. Supporter of the League for National Liberation which in 1948 merged in the Israel Communist Party. In May 1948 he fled to the Lebanon but returned early in 1949. Was detained in Acre prison for five months but on his release was allowed to reside in the country. He is an active Communist and contributes to *Al-Ittihad*, the Haifa Communist newspaper. In 1951 he has been successful in a series of High Court actions on behalf of Arabs denied permanent residential status.

68. Namir (Nemirovsky) Mordechai

General secretary of the Histadrut.

Born Bratolubovka, Ukraine in 1897. Educated in Russia. Came to Palestine in 1924. Worked as an unskilled labourer and then as circulation manager of the Labour newspaper *Davar*. He then worked for some time as secretary of the Tel-Aviv branch of Achdut Avoda (the Jewish Labour Party) and on his own account as a statistician. In 1929 he became director of the Statistical Department of the Histadrut. In 1933 he became also a municipal councillor in Tel-Aviv. In 1940 he was detained by the Palestine Government on charges of agitating against the 1939 White Paper and the Land Trans-

fer Regulations. In 1944 he became a member of the Histadrut Secretariat.

In May 1948 he was sent as a special envoy to Roumania, and later as counsellor to Moscow, where in 1949 he became minister. Returned to Israel in December 1950 to become general secretary of the Histadrut.

69. Nir, Nahum Yaakov Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1884 at Warsaw. Studied at Universities of Warsaw, Leningrad, Zürich and Dorpat. Private legal practice in Poland, Danzig, Vienna and (since 1929, when he immigrated) in Palestine. Municipal Councillor, Warsaw, 1919-24. President of the Yiddish Journalists' Union. An active Zionist since 1901. Joined the Poalei Zion Party in 1905 and was Head of its world secretariat. Belonging to its left wing, he did not join Mapai, but took part in the mergers with other leftist groups (1946, 1948) which led to the formation of Mapam. As leader of the "Left Poalei Zion" Party he was an advisory member of the Va'ad Leumi Executive (1944-48) and a member and Deputy Chairman of the Provisional Council of State (1948-49). Elected Mapam Deputy (1949), he was chosen as one of the two Deputy Speakers of the Knesset and Chairman of its Parliamentary Committee on Constitution, Legislation and Justice. Dr. Nir is a member of the World Committee of the World Peace Movement and attended the abortive Sheffield Peace Conference in 1950. He is, however, one of the moderates in Mapam who have warned the party against joining an anti-Zionist Cominform and working with the Communists.

Dr. Nir has published in German a number of books on political subjects, including a History of Socialism. He has the reputation of being a sound legal expert.

70. Palmon, Yehoshua

Adviser on Arab affairs to the Prime Minister.

Born in Palestine and speaking fluent Arabic, Mr. Palmon worked under the Mandate at the Palestine Potash Company's works at the northern end of the Dead Sea. Later he worked in the Middle East section of the Jewish Agency. He is the senior civilian official dealing with all aspects of the Arab minority in Israel. In December 1950 he was appointed a member of the Special Committee dealing with the application of the Absentees Property Law.

Touchy and difficult; does not speak English.

71. Pearlman, Sgan-Aloof (Lieutenant-Colonel) Moshe

Head of the Government Press Service (1951).

Born in London, 1911. Educated at the London School of Economics. Was a journalist in London, New York and Palestine from 1934 to 1938. In 1938 he became Public Relations Officer of the Jewish Agency in London. He served in the British army from 1940 to 1946 and was demobilised as a major. In 1948 he was appointed director of the Foreign Press Division of the Public Information Office and in 1951 was made head of the Government Press Service.

Disconcertingly like Groucho Marx in appearance, Mr. Pearlman, who still holds the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Israel army, is a friendly volatile person, who may genuinely regret some of the anti-British statements that he made in 1948 and which figure in his book on the Israel army. During 1950 he obtained his wings as a paratrooper by way of a hobby.

72. Pinkas, David Zvi

Religious Bloc Deputy (1949).

Born in 1895 at Sopron (Hungary), son of a rabbi. Studied at Vienna University (graduated in law) and at Presburg Rabbinical Seminary, and started life as a banker. Came to Palestine 1925 and was for over twenty years manager of the Mizrachi Bank (now Chairman). Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1932. Delegate to Zionist Congresses and member of the Va'ad Leumi. Active in the Mizrachi World Organisation and member of its Palestine Executive, he was a Mizrachi representative in the Provisional Council of State, 1948. Elected Deputy (Religious Bloc) in 1949, he is Chairman of the Knesset's Finance Committee.

Mr. Pinkas is an authority on parliamentary procedure and has shown skill in piloting financial measures through debates in the Knesset, in which he enjoys a considerable reputation. He is President of the Great Synagogue in Tel Aviv.

73. Preminger, Eliezer

Mapam Deputy (ex-Communist).

Born in 1921 and a surveyor by profession, Mr. Preminger first rose to prominence as a Communist. In 1945 he was put in charge of propaganda in the Communist Educational Union, which split away from the Palestine Communist Party after the latter's 8th Congress. The rebel group later developed into the Hebrew Communist Party, of which Mr. Preminger became one of the leaders. In January 1949 he was elected to the Knesset on the Israel Communist Party list but immediately afterwards he broke away and in August 1949 he announced in the Knesset that he had liquidated his party and joined Mapam.

Mr. Preminger has not been very active in the Knesset, though in 1950 he did introduce a Bill designed to limit profits by law. He is occasionally put forward at public meetings as a Mapam speaker. He advocates the form of nationalistic communism practised by Marshal Tito.

74. Raday (Berman), Chaim

Secretary-General, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1948).

Born in 1908 at Bender (Bessarabia). Attended the Hebrew Gymnasium at Kishinev, came to Palestine in 1924, and worked as agricultural and building labourer till 1928, also finishing his education at Reali School, Haifa. In 1929 he went to Montreal to study agriculture, becoming headmaster of a Jewish agricultural school, and a founder of the Gordonia pioneering organisation which was later associated with Mapai. In 1931 he studied at the National School of Agriculture, Grignon (France). Returning to Palestine, he worked as an agricultural engineer. From 1934 to 1938 he helped to found Naharya and became manager of its co-operative and Mukhtar. 1938, secretary of the Railway Workers' Organisation. From 1939, served the Histadrut Executive as liaison officer with the British Army and during the World War became secretary of its Political Department. After the war he represented the Histadrut at the International Labour Organisation and opened in Paris a Histadrut office for liaison with foreign labour movements. Returned 1947 and joined the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. Later he became secretary of the Political Department and collaborated in preparing the framework of the Foreign Ministry, of which he became Secretary-General on its establishment in 1948.

Mr. Raday is a pleasant man and has the reputation of an efficient worker. His function in the Foreign Ministry (not to be confused with that of Director-General) resembles that of Chief Clerk in the

Foreign Service. Reputed to have been anti-British but our contacts with him have been satisfactory.

75. Ramati (Rosenberg) Sgan-Aloof (Lieutenant-Colonel) Shaul

Senior Israel Representative on the Mixed Armistice Commissions.

Born at Warsaw in 1924 and went to England as a young man. Educated at Oxford. From 1943-47 he served in the British army, with the Jewish Brigade Group and the Gordon Highlanders. Was demobilised as a captain.

In Israel to which he came in 1948 he became a regular member of the Israel army. He fought in the Arab war as an infantry and staff officer and was wounded in the Lydda-Ramleh campaign. He went with the Israel delegation to the Rhodes armistice talks with Jordan. In 1949 he was appointed assistant delegate on the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission. In late 1950 he was appointed senior delegate and in January 1951 he was made senior representative on all the Mixed Armistice Commissions. He is also Foreign Liaison Officer for Jerusalem.

Colonel Ramati is adroit and intelligent, is well on top of a highly responsible job and always has all the facts at his fingertips. His manner is usually pleasant and agreeable, but he can be very tough when required.

76. Riftin, Yaakov

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in Poland in 1909. High school education. Joined Hashomer Hatzair in Poland and came to Palestine in 1927. Worked as a farmer in several Kibbutzim, was a delegate to several Zionist congresses and undertook numerous missions on behalf of the labour movement. A member of the Histadrut Executive. Elected a Mapam Deputy in 1949, he has emerged as one of the leaders of the extreme Left-wing pro-Soviet wing of the party. He has been active in the Knesset and outside it. He advocates a thoroughgoing revolutionary policy for Mapam.

77. Rokach, Israel, C.B.E.

Mayor of Tel Aviv (1936).

Born in 1896 at Jaffa. Educated at Technical Institutes of Lusanne and Zürich. Worked as electrical engineer in the United Kingdom and Palestine. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1922; Vice-Mayor, 1927; Mayor since 1936. Former member of the War Economic Advisory Council (1943). A director of various cultural, political and economic enterprises. Elected General Zionist Deputy, 1949.

Mr. Rokach, as a leader of the General Zionist Party, spends much time in the Knesset. He is chairman of the parliamentary group of the party and is, with Peretz Bernstein, its chief spokesman. His subordinates have complained of his neglect of routine municipal affairs. Very self-important.

78. Rosen (Rosenblueth), Pinhas-Felix

Minister of Justice (1948).

Born in 1887 in Berlin. Studied law at Universities of Freiburg and Berlin. Leader of Zionist youth organisations in Germany. Served six years in the German Army, including the First World War. President of the Zionist Federation of Germany, 1920-23. Spent 1923-25 in Palestine. Returned to Germany 1925. In London, 1926-31, as member of the World Zionist Executive in charge of its Organisation Department. Settled in Palestine 1931; in private legal practice there, 1932-48. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1935. One of the founders (1941) of the Aliya Hadasha Party (new immigrants, mostly from Germany and Central

Europe) and its President. Member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. 1948, member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government. In September, 1948, the bulk of his party merged with a section of the General Zionists to form the Progressive Party, with him as leader. Elected Deputy, 1949, and resumed the portfolio of Justice. In the Government crisis of October 1950 he tried unsuccessfully to form a Cabinet.

Mr. Rosen is a sound lawyer, specialised in company law, but he suffers from a certain germanic pedantry and heaviness. He is closely associated with Dr. Weizmann. In political outlook he is a moderate liberal. Friendly.

79. Rosette, Maurice

Clerk of the Knesset.

Born in London in 1903. Educated at London University, and the University of Wales. He became chief cost clerk of the Stepney Municipality and was active in Jewish and trade union affairs. He stood unsuccessfully for Parliament. In due course he became head of the Information Department and parliamentary agent of the Jewish Agency in London, a member of the board of deputies of British Jews, chairman of the Political Committee of Poale Zion in England and secretary of the Jewish National Board for Great Britain. He settled in Israel in 1949 and became clerk of the Knesset. In 1950 he accompanied the Israel Parliamentary Delegation to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Rosette's knowledge of British political life and methods is various and extensive. He is pleasant and intelligent and well informed on parliamentary and constitutional matters. Mr. Mikardo, M.P., married his sister.

80. Sahar (Sacharov), Yehezkel

Chief of Police (1948).

Born in 1907 at Jerusalem. Studied at the High School of Commerce, Tel Aviv. Worked for several years in the Anglo-Palestine Bank. In 1933 studied at the London School of Economics and while there was private secretary to Dr. Weizmann, 1940, on a Zionist mission to the United States. 1941, enlisted and served with the Eighth Army in the Western Desert as commander of a Palestine R.A.S.C. Company. Discharged as major after serving in Austria. A veteran of the Haganah, he became Inspector-General of Police and Director-General of the Ministry of Police at the foundation of the State. In January, 1950, his rank was made equivalent to that of Chief of Staff (rav-aloof).

Mr. Sahar, though critical of British handling of security in the mandatory period, is friendly and seems desirous of maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force. In 1949 he spent several weeks in the United Kingdom, France and the United States studying police organisations and methods. On his return his enthusiasm for Scotland Yard was almost unbounded.

81. Sasson, Eliahu

Minister to Turkey (1949).

Born before 1898 at Aleppo. Brought up in Syria and studied in Turkey. At one time he was a teacher in the French-Jewish School of the Alliance Israélite at Damascus. Active at first in the Syrian nationalist movement, he later devoted himself entirely to Zionism and became (about 1936) head of the Arab Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem. Head of the Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1948. Took a leading part in the armistice negotiations at Rhodes and headed the Israel delegation to the Conciliation Commission in Lausanne (1949) with the rank of Minister.

At the end of 1949 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Turkey.

Mr. Sasson speaks perfect Arabic. While working for the Jewish Agency he established the reputation of being not only a connoisseur of Middle East affairs but also *persona grata* with many leading Arab politicians.

82. Schocken, Gustav Gershon

Journalist.

Born in 1912 at Zwickau (Saxony) where his father owned a chain store network. Educated at Universities of Heidelberg and London (Social Science). In Palestine since 1933. His family founded Schocken Verlag in Berlin (1931-39) and he is director of its Palestine branch (Schocken Publishing House, Ltd.). In 1937 he and his father took over publication of the principal Hebrew paper of the country, *Ha'aretz*, which he has since edited.

Mr. Schocken speaks fluent English. He has a very cosmopolitan outlook—which is in contrast to the somewhat limited horizon of many of his journalist colleagues. Visited United Kingdom officially in 1950. Alone of the Hebrew papers *Ha'aretz* is excellent.

83. Shaltiel, Aloof (Brigadier) David

Military Attaché, Paris (1950).

Born in 1903 in Germany. Served as an officer in the French Foreign Legion during the Riff War. Came to Palestine in 1924 and joined the Haganah. Went to Europe to obtain arms for it, was imprisoned by the Nazis and tortured by the Gestapo. Returned to Palestine in 1941 as an exchange prisoner, and received the underground Haganah appointment of Area Commander in Haifa and then (till February, 1948) Chief of Intelligence. Commanded the Israel Brigade in Jerusalem throughout the siege of 1948 but was later removed, reportedly for failure to capture the whole city. In October, 1948, he was in charge of the investigation of the activities of dissident military groups. He then visited Czechoslovakia and several South American States, and on return was appointed Inspector General of the Army. He relinquished the post on becoming Commander of the Frontier Force in November, 1949, but was found too independent and unorthodox for the latter and removed in April, 1950, on being appointed Military Attaché for France and Benelux countries, with residence at Paris.

84. Shamir (Rabinovitz), Aloof (Brigadier), Shlomo

Commander of the Israel Air Force (1950).

Born in 1916 in Poland and came to Palestine as a child. During the Second World War he served in the Jewish Brigade, rising from private to major. In 1948 he commanded first a Brigade and later a Division of the Israel Defence Army. He was then transferred to the General Staff as Chief of Administration, and ended the war as Commander of the Central Front. He was put in command of the navy in June 1949. Though he had no naval experience he was chosen for this post for his outstanding ability as an organiser. In December 1950 he took over charge of the Israel air force.

85. Shapiro, Moshe

Minister of Interior (1949), Immigration and Health (1948).

Born in 1902 at Grodno (Poland). Son of a rabbi, he was educated at the Rabbinical Seminary, Grodno, worked for a time in the Ministry of Jewish Affairs, Lithuania, and in 1924-25 studied in the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. An active Zionist from early youth and a founder of the Religious Workers Party (Hapoel Hamizrahi). Represented it at World Zionist Congresses since 1923 and became its

outstanding leader and chairman in Palestine, where he settled in 1925. Member of the Zionist General Council since 1927. Elected alternate member of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1935 and since then associated with its Immigration Department. Full member of the Executive, 1945-48. Represented Hapoel Hamizrahi in the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and was Minister of Immigration and Health in the Provisional Government. Negotiated a merger (the Religious *bloc*) with the Mizrahi and Agudist parties for the elections of 1949 and was returned as Deputy. In the new Government he continued as Minister of Immigration and of Health and also became Minister of the Interior. Relations between him and his Mapai colleagues became very strained early in 1951.

For over twenty years he has struggled to avoid a split in Hapoel Hamizrahi over the question of whether it should join the Histadrut—a course to which he is opposed. He is said to devote all his spare time to Talmudic study.

86. Sharett (Shertok), Moshe

Minister for Foreign Affairs (1948).

Born in 1894 at Kherson (Ukraine). Emigrated to Palestine with his parents 1906. Educated at Herzliya Gymnasium, Tel Aviv. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14). 1915-18, served as Turkish Army officer (interpreter attached to German liaison staff). 1918-20, on the staff of the Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, and active in the Hitachdut (United Labour) movement. Spent 1920-25 in England, taking B.Sc. degree at London School of Economics and entering the English Executive of Paolei Zion, which he represented at British Labour Party conference. 1925-31, on the editorial staff of the Histadrut organ *Davar*, of which he also produced a weekly edition in English. Joined Mapai on its foundation, 1930, and was later elected to its Executive. 1931-33, private secretary to Arlosoroff, Head of the Jewish Agency Political Department; succeeded him as its Head in 1933 and retained the position, with membership of the Executive, till 1948. In this capacity, was the Agency's main channel of contact with the Government of Palestine and went on numerous missions abroad. During the Second World War was head of the Jewish Agency's Recruiting Department and active in promoting the formation of the Jewish Brigade group. Was one of the Jewish leaders interned at Latrun, 1946. Re-appointed head of the Political Department by the Zionist Congress of December, 1946, but with orders to head it from Washington, he was throughout 1947 the Agency's principal delegate to the United Nations Organisation. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government, and was later obliged to resign from the Jewish Agency Executive. Elected Deputy (No. 2 on the Mapai list) in 1949, he has continued as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He acted as Prime Minister when Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mr. Kaplan were away in 1951.

Mr. Sharett is a remarkable linguist, a voluble talker and a very quick worker. But there is a certain lack of depth, modesty and real personality which has diminished his stature as a statesman. Of late, however, his standing has improved as he became identified with a policy of greater reasonableness in the handling of foreign affairs in contrast to the more ruthless approach of Mr. Ben-Gurion. Personally popular, he is quick to help deserving causes and has his finger in many a pie. Speech-making in the provinces is one of his pastimes.

87. Sharif (Scharf), Zeev

Secretary of the Government (1948).

Born about 1902. Began his career in the Jewish Agency and in 1947 was secretary of its Political

Department. From November 1947, he was secretary of an Emergency Committee of thirteen political leaders which made technical preparations for the establishment of an independent administration. When in March, 1948, this gave place to the bodies which later emerged as the Provisional Council of State and Provisional Government of Israel, he continued to act as their principal secretary, and under a further reorganisation he became head of the Prime Minister's office, with the title of "Secretary of the Cabinet and Director-General." In April 1951 he was superseded as head of the Prime Minister's Office, but he remained Secretary of the Government and became Civil Service Commissioner.

88. Shazar (Rubashov), Zalman

Former Minister of Education (1948).

Born in 1889 at Mir (White Russia). Comes of a Hassidic family and is regarded as an authority on Hassidism though he himself is an emancipated socialist. Studied at the Academy of Jewish Science, St. Petersburg, and the Universities of Freiburg, Strasburg and Berlin. One of the founders of Hechalutz pioneering movement. After some years in Vienna as journalist and youth instructor, he came to Palestine in 1924. Active in organising the labour movement and in negotiations for the merger of socialist groups which formed Mapai (1930). Member of the Histadrut Executive. Labour delegate to numerous Zionist Congresses and member of the Zionist General Council. For many years editor of the Histadrut newspaper *Davar*; a prolific journalist and author of books and pamphlets. Elected Mapai Deputy in 1949, he became the first Minister of Education and Culture.

Mr. Shazar, was absent for long periods owing to serious ill-health and failed to cope with the urgent problems facing his department. He was finally dropped from the Cabinet in October 1950, and nominated as minister at Moscow, but after a long delay the Soviet Government refused their *agrément*.

89. Shenkar, Arieh Leib

President, Manufacturers' Association (1925).

Born in 1877 in Kiev Province, Ukraine. Was a textile manufacturer in Moscow for many years. In 1908 he came to Palestine and purchased land for members of a group of which he was treasurer and vice-president. Returning again in 1924 he founded the Lodzia Textile Company, of which he is owner and Managing Director, and the Industrial Bank of Palestine, of which he is Chairman. President of the Manufacturers' Association since its foundation in 1925. Chairman of the Industrial Credit Council of the Palestine Corporation (London) and a Director of the Tel Aviv Development Company.

Mr. Shenkar is a highly respectable old man. He is not happy in the modern world of controlled economy and has made vigorous public attacks on the policy of the Government. He does not speak English.

90. Shiloah (Zaslani), Reuven

Special Adviser, Foreign Ministry (1948).

Born in 1909 at Jerusalem. Educated at the Hebrew University and the Teachers' Seminary, Jerusalem. Specialised in Arabic studies and has travelled extensively in the Middle East. Early connected with the Haganah; organiser of its Arab intelligence service. Taught Arabic in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and from 1935 to 1937 was a teacher at the Alliance School at Bagdad. Visited Kurdistan in 1932. In 1932 he was editor of the Arab section of the *Palestine Post*. Friend of Arlosoroff, who interested him in the Socialist youth movement. As assistant political secretary, Histadrut Executive, in charge of Arab affairs (1932-36), he helped to found

the Arab Association of Palestine Workers. During the riots of 1936 he was loaned by the Histadrut to the Jewish Agency's Political Department and remained in it till 1948. He became head of the Intelligence Section of the Haganah and was for many years liaison officer between the Political Department and British military authorities, including General Wingate. Member of the Jewish Delegation at the Round Table Conference in London (1939). During the World War, as Jewish liaison officer, he assisted the Allies in planning operations behind the enemy lines in neighbouring Arab States and Europe. Went to San Francisco in 1945 as a Jewish Agency delegate to the United Nations Conference and remained in America and Europe for over a year, including a special Haganah mission in the United States and service in the Jewish Agency office in London (1946), and as Mr. Ben-Gurion's secretary while in Paris. On the establishment of the State of Israel he became "Special Adviser" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, holding the third place in its hierarchy. Took a leading part in discussions with the Conciliation Commission at Lausanne (1949) and in secret negotiations with Jordan (1949-51). Was a member of the Israel delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1950.

Mr. Shiloah is a humourless and sinister-looking individual with a scar across his rather Asiatic features. Since 1939 he has been very close to Mr. Ben-Gurion and is now a power behind the throne in so far as relations with Israel's neighbours are concerned. An able and probably an unscrupulous man.

91. Shitreet, Behor Shalom

Minister of Police (1948).

Born in 1895 at Tiberias of an old-established Arabic-speaking family. Educated at the "Alliance Israelite" School and Rabbinical College, Tiberias, and later (1926-30) at the Law Classes, Jerusalem. Though a Sephardi, he joined the Zionist Movement in 1910. Started as a teacher of French, Hebrew and Arabic and later worked in his father's business. In 1919 he joined the Police Force under British military administration and subsequently made a career in the Department of Police and Prisons of the Government of Palestine, specialising in criminal investigation. 1927, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Tel Aviv. Instructor (1928) and head (1931) of the Police School in Jerusalem. Left the Police in 1935 to become Magistrate, sitting in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Haifa and other courts. Chief Magistrate, Tel Aviv, 1945; Senior Magistrate, 1947. From 1942 onwards he helped to organise the Sephardim in defence of their rights in the Jewish community and later became chairman of the Sephardic Committee formed for this purpose. As such he entered the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and became Minister of Police and of Minorities in the Provisional Government. Later in the year he pledged his support for a "Popular Party," but as it did not materialise, he headed in 1949 the list of the "Union of Sephardic and Levantine Communities" of which he and three others were elected deputies in the Knesset. In the new Government he carried on with the same two portfolios, but that of Minorities was abolished in June 1949. In 1951, following the disintegration of the Sephardim movement, he was included in the Mapai list for the elections.

Mr. Shitreet is a leisurely and expansive oriental who is as much at home with Arabs as with Jews. Though he has little education and no European experience, he was a competent magistrate, courageous, hard-working and with a reputation for honesty. He appears to be keen on maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force.

92. Shragai, Shlomo Zalman

Mayor of Jerusalem (1951).

Born in Poland in 1899. Educated privately and at a rabbinical college. Served in the Polish army, 1914-18. Settled in Palestine in 1924. A member of the Mizrahi Labour Party, he became a member of the editorial board of *Hazofe*, the religious daily newspaper, a member of the executive of the Va'ad Leumi and head of its press information department, a member of the Hapoel Hamizrahi executive, a member of the Zionist General Council and finally a member of the Jewish Agency Executive. Under the Mandate he was a member of the Government Man-power Committee. In November 1949 he was returned as a municipal councillor in Jerusalem and after two months of political manoeuvring he was elected mayor. He retains his position on the Jewish Agency Executive.

Mr. Shragai is a sinister-looking man with a black beard and is regarded by many as a symbol of religious reaction in Jerusalem.

93. Smoira, Moshe

President, Supreme Court (1948).

Born in 1888 at Königsberg. Studied at Universities of Königsberg, Munich, Berlin (law), Giessen, Heidelberg, Frankfurt (Semitics). Served in the German army, 1912-18. Legal practice in Berlin and, since 1923, in Palestine. Lecturer at the Law Classes, Jerusalem, from 1923. Member of the Council of Legal Studies from 1925. Was legal adviser to the Histadrut. President of the Supreme Court in Jerusalem since its inauguration in September 1948.

Dr. Smoira is a sound legal expert, but learned rather than profound. Under his chairmanship the Supreme Court has proved an impartial body independent of political influence. Not well versed in criminal law. Slightly pompous.

94. Sneh (Kleinbaum), Dr. Moshe

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1909 at Radzyn (Poland). Graduated in medicine at Warsaw University (M.D.) but took up journalism and politics, becoming chairman of the Zionist Students' Organisation and later leader of the General Zionist Organisation in Poland. A delegate to Zionist Congresses from 1933, he was elected member of the Zionist General Council in 1935. In 1939 he served as captain in the Polish army, was taken prisoner by the Russians, escaped and reached Palestine via France in 1940. From 1940 to 1946 he served on the staff of the Haganah underground forces, becoming Chief of Staff by 1944, and engaged in organising illegal immigration. Also active in politics as right-hand man of Y. Gruenbaum (q.v.) at the head of the "A" Group of General Zionists. In 1945-46 he took a leading part in bringing together the General Zionists "A" and "B" (Left and Right wings) and for a short time presided over the united party. In 1945 he also entered the Jewish Agency Executive and acted as its ambassador at large in Europe.

During this period Dr. Sneh adopted a pro-Soviet orientation and at the end of 1947, having quarrelled with the General Zionist Party and the Jewish Agency, he resigned from both and took a leading part in founding the leftist United Labour Party (Mapam). Though, unlike other participants, he brought with him no organised body, he became a member of the Mapam Central Committee and of the editorial board of the party's newspaper *Al Hamishmar*. In July 1948 he attended the World Jewish Congress and sided with the East European delegates who tried to give it a pro-Soviet bias. Elected Mapam Deputy in 1949, he has led the extreme Left wing of the party and in 1949-50 was influential in preventing it from joining Mapai in the Government coalition. He is the leading spirit in the

Israel branch of the Soviet-sponsored "Peace Movement" and secretary of the League for Friendship with the U.S.S.R.

Dr. Sneh is a good speaker and an able man, but is regarded by his political opponents as an insincere schemer who turned pro-Soviet for reasons of personal ambition. He is certainly an active fellow-traveller, and an unprincipled opportunist.

95. Sprinzak, Joseph

Speaker of the Knesset (1949).

Born in 1886 in Russia. University studies in Russia and Switzerland. Came to Palestine in 1909, already a Zionist-Socialist, and entered the labour movement becoming a leading member of Mapai. Repeatedly represented the Histadrut, of which he was one of the founders, at Zionist congresses; is chairman of the Zionist General Council Presidium. For many years member of the Histadrut Executive, he was its general-secretary in 1947-49. On the board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund, Foundation Fund and various other institutions. Was member of the Elected Assembly and Va'ad Leumi Executive. In August 1948 he entered the Provisional Council of State (replacing Mrs. Myerson) and soon after was elected its chairman. Elected Deputy (5th on the Mapai list) in 1949 and president (Speaker) of the Knesset, he relinquished the General Secretariat of the Histadrut in July. During Dr. Weizmann's absences abroad in 1949 and 1950 he acted as President of Israel.

Mr. Sprinzak is a good chairman with a strong sense of humour and is generally liked and respected in the Knesset, but in his conduct of parliamentary procedure he frequently shows bias in favour of Mapai and the Government coalition. A small thick-set man with a large drooping moustache, he cuts a slightly comical figure. A prominent sponsor of cultural and educational institutions. Speaks very little English but is outwardly friendly. A close friend of Mr. Ben-Gurion.

96. Tabenkin, Yitzhak

Mapam leader.

Born at Bobruisk in Russia in 1889. Educated in Russia and Poland and at Berne University. Came to Palestine in 1910. He was one of the founders of the association of settlements known as Kibbutz Meuhad, and also founded the political party of Achdut Avoda. As a leader of Achdut Avoda he was one of those who founded Mapai in 1930. In 1948 Achdut Avoda broke away from Mapai and joined Hashomer Hatzair and Poale Zion to form Mapam. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset as No. 1 on the Mapam list. He never spoke in it and withdrew from public life, in April 1951 resigning his seat. Within the party, however, he worked against the pro-Communist Left wing and re-emerged at the Mapam conference in May 1951, at which he criticised the party's efforts to apply Lenin's policies in Israel and opposed the bringing of Arabs into a Zionist party.

Mr. Tabenkin has been one of the outstanding leaders of Israel's system of communal settlements. He is himself a member of Kibbutz Ein Harod, which he helped to found. He has written much on Socialist problems and is a member of the Histadrut Executive and the Zionist General Council. He is out of sympathy with the near Communist and pro-Russian policy of Hashomer Hatzair, but his age and his prolonged inactivity have deprived him of his former influence. He is still much respected.

97. Tocatty, Yehuda Mazur, M.B.E.

Insurance and finance magnate.

Born in 1904 at Jerusalem. Educated partly in London and speaks good English. Has published books on insurance and articles on economic

problems. Owner and general manager of the firm of J. M. Tocatty, insurance and finance, and agent for various leading insurance companies in Israel. Chairman of the Arieh Insurance company and a director of a number of other firms. Was president of the Palestine Property Owners Association. Municipal Councillor of Tel Aviv. Has a financial interest in a very wide range of industrial and commercial enterprises. Is rather exceptional in Israel in that he is important and competent but has no quasi-official Government job. Has a direct and forthright manner and is rather deaf. Not the most attractive of personalities.

98. Teubi, Tewfik

Communist Deputy (1949).

Born in 1921 or 1922 at Haifa. A fairly able journalist, editor of the Arab Communist weekly *Al Ittihad*. A founder of the Arab Workers' Congress and one of the leaders of the Arab League for National Liberation, he followed the latter when in 1948 it merged with the (Jewish) Palestine Communist Party to form the United Israel Communist Party. Elected Deputy in 1949 (second on the Communist list) he has been very active in voicing Arab grievances before the Knesset, in the "Peace Movement" and in other forms of agitation. In the summer of 1949 he accompanied Mikunis on a tour of East European capitals. Alleged to be a former collaborator of the ex-Mufti with an anti-Zionist record.

In 1950 he attended the Warsaw Peace Conference and was elected a member of its Presidium.

He is a Greek Orthodox Christian and is married to a Jewess.

99. Uziel, Ben-Zion Meir Chai

Chief Rabbi of the Sephardim (1939).

Born in 1880 at Jerusalem. Educated at a Rabbinical College in Jerusalem. Teacher and later Principal of the Tiferet Yerushalayim religious college. Rabbi of the Sephardic Community of Jaffa, 1912-20. Chief Rabbi of Salonika, 1920-23. Chief Rabbi of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, 1923. Elected Chief Sephardic Rabbi of Palestine in 1939. Head of the Mif'al Hatorah organisation for support of Talmudic schools. Member of the Mizrachi executive. Member of the Jewish Agency Council from 1929.

Though he has published a series of books entitled "Uziel's Judgments," "Uziel's Treasures," "Uziel's Chapters," he is not a man of scientific outlook or European experience. Owing to this and to the relative smallness of the Sephardic community, he carries much less weight in Israel than his Ashkenazic colleague, Dr. Herzog. He speaks Arabic, French and some English.

100. Wahrhaftig, Zerach

Hapoel Hamizrahi Deputy.

Born in Poland in 1906. Educated at a Yeshiva and at Warsaw University. He was in private legal practice from 1933 to 1939 and lived in the United States before coming to Palestine in 1945. He was chairman of the Central Palestine Office from 1936 to 1939 and deputy director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York from 1942 to 1947. From 1947 to 1948 was director of the Law Department of the Va'ad Leumi in Jerusalem. In 1948 became director of the Research Institute for Jewish Law at the Ministry of Justice. He was a member of the Provisional Government Council from 1947 to 1948.

A former vice-president of Hapoel Hamizrahi in the United States, Mr. Wahrhaftig is now one of its principal leaders in Israel. He is a member of the Zionist General Council. In the Knesset he has considerable influence. He is an authority on a wide range of subjects, a Liberal, and a conscientious and

earnest legislator. On religious matters he is less extreme than most members of the Orthodox parties.

101. Weizmann, Dr. Chaim

President of Israel (1948).

Born in 1874 at Motol (White Russia), son of a timber-merchant. Studied at universities of Berlin (1894-97) and Freiburg (1898-99, Sc.D.). Lecturer in chemistry and biochemistry at Universities of Geneva (1900-04) and Manchester (1904-16). From 1898, delegate at World Zionist Congresses and member of the Zionist Executive. A leader of the democratic faction in the Zionist Organisation, an outstanding opponent of Herzl over the Uganda proposal (1903-04) and promoter of "practical" Zionism. First visited Palestine in 1907. As Director of Admiralty Laboratories, 1916-19, he made valuable contributions to the allied war-effort, including invention of an acetone production process. This brought him into contact with British statesmen, from whom he took a leading part in obtaining the Balfour Declaration, 1917. President of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, 1917 and 1931. Headed the Zionist Commission to Palestine (1918) and the Jewish Delegations to the Paris Peace Conference (1919) and the San Remo Conference (1920). From 1920 onwards he was president of the World Zionist Organisation; and consequently also of the (enlarged) Jewish Agency founded, largely owing to his efforts, in 1929. His moderation caused his loss of the Presidency in 1931, but he was reinstated in 1935. During the mandatory period, though mainly resident in England, he frequently visited Palestine and travelled extensively in the United States and Europe in connexion with Zionist affairs. Principally preoccupied with putting the Jewish community on a firm economic and cultural basis, he developed the Jewish National Fund, started the foundation fund (1921), promoted agricultural settlement, founded the Hebrew University (of which he was president in 1923-49 and Dean of the faculty of Physics from 1935), the Research Institute at Rehovoth (1934) and other institutions. In 1932, he became chairman of the Central Bureau for settlement of German Jews and president of the Youth Aliyah. Politically, he sympathised with the Conservative General Zionists. Following the Peel Report of 1937, he favoured partition of Palestine. Despite strong resentment over the White Paper policy of 1939, he threw himself into the war effort: he was honorary chemical adviser to the British Ministry of Supply (1939-45) did valuable scientific work in the United States for the War Production Board (1942-43) and promoted the recruitment of Jews in Palestine.

Though embittered by the development of British policy, after the Second World War Dr. Weizmann steadily resisted extremist agitation and violence. His patience and willingness to continue discussions with His Majesty's Government again resulted in his being ousted from the Presidency of the Zionist Organisation and Jewish Agency in 1946. He went into semi-retirement and devoted himself to the Weizmann Institute of Science (a recent enlargement of the Rehovoth Research Institute). On the eve of the United Nations Partition Resolution of 1947, he went to Washington and by his personal intervention with President Truman secured United States support for the allotment of the Negev to the Jewish State. He again visited the United States early in 1948 to plead for recognition of Israel. In May, the Provisional Council of State elected him as its President. He did not return to Israel till September. In 1949, the Knesset elected him first President of Israel.

Dr. Weizmann has been a statesman and scientist of the first order, but he is now a spent force and a very sick man. He was the inevitable choice as first

President of the new State, but the office is shorn of all power and he has no positive influence. But he still enjoys considerable prestige. He is a rather disappointed old man.

102. Yaari (Wald), Meir

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born Reshov (Galicia) in 1897. Educated in Poland, at Vienna University and at the Agricultural Institute in Vienna. Was a pupil of Sigmund Freud. Served in the Austrian army in the First World War. Came to Palestine in 1920. He was one of the founders of Hashomer Hatzair in Vienna and in Palestine became one of the chief leaders of the party and a member of its world executive. He lives in Kibbutz Merhavia and is a member of the executive of the Kibbutz Artzi. A member of the Zionist General Council and of the Histadrut Executive. In 1949 he was No. 2 on the Mapam list. He afterwards played a leading part in the abortive negotiations with Mapai for the forming of a coalition.

Mr. Yaari is one of the real leaders of Mapam and one of the chief figures in the tightly disciplined Hashomer Hatzair. In the Knesset he has been content to leave Sneh and Riftin to act as the party's spokesmen. He has, however, been active in the peace movement and presided over its first public meeting in Tel-Aviv. He is a member of the World Committee of the movement, attended the Warsaw Peace Conference in 1950 and was elected a member of its Presidium.

103. Yadin (Sukenik), Rav-Aloof (Major-General), Yigal

Chief of Staff (1949).

Born in 1916 at Jerusalem, son of Professor Sukenik the archaeologist. Studied at the Hebrew University (M.A., archaeology); specialised in history of ancient wars in Palestine and has published various studies. Served in the Haganah from 1933. Was in Wingate's "night squads." A senior Haganah staff officer till 1937, he was District Instructor, Jerusalem, in 1938. After the World War he appears to have been appointed head of a department for planning operations in support of the resistance movement in Palestine, but to have resigned and returned to civilian life in 1946 when the Jewish political leaders were interned. On the outbreak of disturbances following the United Nations Partition Resolution he was called back to active service in December 1947. From then till January 1949, as Chief Operations Officer he successfully directed the campaigns in Galilee, the Jerusalem corridor and the Negev. He then became chief of "G" Branch, took a leading part in the Rhodes armistice negotiations, went on a tour of European countries and in September 1949, was attached to the Prime Minister as personal military adviser. In November 1949, he was promoted to Rav-Aloof (Major-General) and replaced Dori as Chief of Staff.

Major-General Yadin combines the eagerness and self-confidence of a locally-born "sabre" with the learning of a Jewish scholar. He has an intimate knowledge of the Palestinian terrain. Speaks English and Arabic. In private intercourse his manner is pleasant and humorous. Regarded as a faithful executor of Mr. Ben-Gurion's army policy. His appointment as Chief of Staff was followed by a weeding out of Mapam officers and various measures of military reorganisation. His influence with the Prime Minister is thought to be considerable and to be exercised mainly in the direction of a strong policy towards Israel's neighbours.

104. Zisling, Aharon

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1901 at Baranovich (White Russia). Came to Palestine in 1914 and worked as an agricultural

labourer. Since 1923, member of the large "mixed" kibbutz of Ein Harod. Associated with the Achdut Ha'avoda movement, he helped to found Mapai with it in 1930; but as a leader of its Left wing, which formed an opposition within the party, he seceded from Mapai in 1944, and joined Mapam on its foundation in 1948. Was a member of the Histadut Executive and undertook a number of missions abroad on behalf of the labour movement. Delegate to various Zionist Congresses and member of the Zionist General Council. In 1944-48 he was Achdut Ha'avoda representative in the Va'ad Leumi executive. In 1948-49 he represented Mapam in the Provisional Council of State and was Minister of Agriculture in the Provisional Government. Elected Deputy, 1949.

Mr. Zisling is a tubby, jovial little man with a shock of fluffy white hair encircling his bald pate. Though still a leading personality, he appears to be losing influence. He was not much of a success as Minister and lacks education. But he enjoys a certain popularity as a character.

105. Zuubi, Seifeddin Muhammad.

Arab Nazareth Democratic Deputy.

Born in Nazareth in 1913. Was employed for

about ten years as a food inspector by the Nazareth Municipality. In 1944 he became a land broker and it became known that he was being paid by the Jewish National Fund, a fact which considerably embarrassed the Zuubi clan in Nazareth and Galilee. In 1947 his family, which had formed itself into a party, publicly disowned him for his active co-operation with the Jews. An attempt was made on his life by Arabs in 1947. In 1949 he was put up as an Arab candidate for the Knesset by Mapai against the wishes of his clan and was elected as one of the two Nazareth Democratic members.

He owns property in Galilee. At the end of 1950 he owed the Jewish National Fund £1,700 and he is believed to have fallen further into debt during 1951. He knows little English or Hebrew and appears to be an opportunist with no strong convictions.

Obituary

Remez (Drabkin), David. Minister for Education. Died May 1951.

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No. 33

ISRAEL: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir K. Helm to Mr. Morrison. (Received 7th June)

(No. 233. Confidential) Tel Aviv, Sir, 2nd June, 1951.

I have the honour to transmit to you my report on Heads of Foreign Missions to Israel.

I have, &c.

A. K. HELM.

Enclosure in No. 33

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports).

Argentina

Dr. Pablo Manguel, minister (14th September, 1949).

*Born in 1912, Dr. Manguel has a legal background and has written various books on labour problems in the field of trade unionism and co-operative societies. Has Jewish blood and is believed to be Secretary-General of the Israelite Organisation of Argentina, which is affiliated to the Peronista party. He has already paid three visits back to Buenos Aires and claims close friendship with the Argentine President. Here his main concern seems to be his living difficulties though his verbosity in indifferent French enlivens diplomatic corps meetings. Nobody takes him seriously. He has a large family retinue and a not unattractive wife. (Written in 1950.)

Locally Dr. Manguel's stock has continued to fall.

Belgium

M. Eugène Dubois, minister (20th April, 1950).

*M. Dubois has been in the Belgian Foreign Service since 1922 with a good deal of Balkan

Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak Legation has been in charge of a secretary since the departure in March of Dr. Goldstucker.

Denmark

Mr. M. H. P. Hoffmeyer, minister (7th December, 1950).

Mr. Hoffmeyer is also minister to Turkey and so far has visited Israel only for a few days in order to present his credentials. He had previously served at a number of European capitals and seemed friendly enough when I met him for a few minutes.

France

M. Edouard-Felix Guyon, minister (13th July, 1949).

*M. Guyon, who was born in 1902, is a career diplomat and has served at Prague, Warsaw, Bucharest and Berne. He broke with Vichy in 1942 and was a member of the French delegation to the San Francisco conference in 1945. We see one another frequently and he is friendly and co-operative. Not very active, he and his pleasant wife live a somewhat isolated life in a former Arab house overlooking the beach at Jaffa. (Written in 1950.)

Greece

Greece has been without a diplomatic representative in Israel since Mr. J. N. Mallah left in December, 1949.

about ten years as a food inspector by the Nazareth Municipality. In 1944 he became a land broker and it became known that he was being paid by the Jewish National Fund, a fact which considerably embarrassed the Zuubi clan in Nazareth and Galilee. In 1947 his family, which had formed itself into a party, publicly disowned him for his active co-operation with the Jews. An attempt was made on his life by Arabs in 1947. In 1949 he was put up as an Arab candidate for the Knesset by Mapai against the wishes of his clan and was elected as one of the two Nazareth Democratic members.

He owns property in Galilee. At the end of 1950 he owed the Jewish National Fund £1,700 and he is believed to have fallen further into debt during 1951. He knows little English or Hebrew and appears to be an opportunist with no strong convictions.

Hungary

M. Istvan Romhanyi, chargé d'affaires (19th June, 1950).

I hardly know M. Romhanyi. He only speaks Hungarian and, like other Iron Curtain representatives, does not cultivate contact with the other heads of missions. He was formerly Consul-General at New York.

Italy

M. le Marquis Raimondo Giustiniani (26th January, 1951).

In his early 50's, Marquis Giustiniani is a member of an old Genoese family and has been in the Italian Diplomatic Service since 1927. Before coming here he was counsellor in Paris and had previously served there as well as at Vienna and Berlin. Little is known of his record during the war.

Marquis Giustiniani is a bachelor who does not take life, at any rate in Israel, too seriously. I find him a delightful colleague. He speaks excellent English.

Netherlands

Jonkheer M. P. van Karnebeek, minister (12th November, 1950).

Mr. Van Karnebeek, who was born in 1908, comes of an old Dutch diplomatic family. After having been Mayor of Zwolle he entered the Dutch Foreign Service in 1945 and was last chargé d'affaires at Karachi.

Mr. Van Karnebeek is the only regular head of mission who lives in Jerusalem and, whether consciously or not, seems out to get others to keep him company there. He affects great friendliness but I have no great confidence in either his reliability or his discretion. He has a smart but somewhat overpowering wife.

Norway

Mr. Ivar Lunde, chargé d'affaires (12th February, 1951).

Mr. Lunde is also chargé d'affaires in Athens, where he resides. I knew him in Ankara in 1943 after which he went to Lisbon, served at the Ministry in Oslo, and in 1949-50 was a member of the Norwegian delegation to the United Nations. He is small and unimpressive with his interests mainly economic. He and his wife are quite nice if perhaps rather too serious.

Persia

M. Reza Safinia, representative (26th March, 1950).

*M. Safinia had a rather unfortunate start as he appeared in Jerusalem in January before Persia had recognised Israel or obtained prior approval for his appointment. Born in 1897 at Tabriz, he was a lawyer until 1934 when he became Persian Consul-General at Baku. Subsequently he was counsellor at Moscow and chargé d'affaires at Bagdad. His last post was head of the press department of the Persian Foreign Office. (Written in 1950.)

For some months now M. Safinia has ceased to appear in Tel Aviv. I quite liked him when I ran across him before that.

Roumania

According to the diplomatic list, M. Nicolae Cioroianu, who presented his credentials in September 1949, is still Roumanian Minister though he left in January, 1950, and was soon afterwards appointed minister in London. Since then the legation has been in charge of the counsellor, M. Paul Davidovici, whom I hardly know.

Soviet Union

M. Pavel J. Erchov, minister (17th August, 1948).

*M. Erchov, who is 40, was previously a teacher and entered the Soviet Foreign Service in 1943 as counsellor at Ankara where we were colleagues and where he remained till 1948. We are superficially on friendly terms but have had no serious talks here. His horizon is extremely limited, even for a Soviet representative, and he and his staff (most of whom lead a communal existence in the former Russian church compound in Jaffa) are rarely seen about.

M. Erchov is a sad-looking, spiritless creature and power in the legation is concentrated elsewhere. His wife is rather pleasant. M. and Mme. Erchov both understand and speak a little English and he gets along fairly well in French. (Written in 1950.)

Sweden

Mr. Costa Hedengren, chargé d'affaires (4th April, 1951).

Mr. Hedengren is a career officer who came here from Vienna where he had also been chargé d'affaires. He is in his early 50's and has seen service at a large number of diplomatic and consular posts in Europe.

Like our Belgian and Italian colleagues, the Hedengrens have settled down at the Sharon Hotel outside Tel Aviv, where they form a small diplomatic coterie. He is pleasant but not impressive and rather colourless. His second wife, though the daughter of a former Swiss Minister to London, is more French than anything else and an incessant but not profound talker.

Switzerland

Though diplomatic relations have been established, no Swiss Minister has yet appeared. I understand, however, that Israel *agréement* has been given for M. Otto Seifert, at present chargé d'affaires in Vienna, whom I knew and liked in Budapest.

Since June, 1949, Switzerland has been represented here by M. Paul G. Ritter, a career diplomat, as consul general. He had previously been counsellor in Rome. Mme. Ritter, who is Russian born, is something of a *malade imaginaire*, and little is seen of them in the social life of Tel Aviv.

Turkey

Mr. Seyfullah Esin, minister (3rd July, 1950).

*Mr. Esin is a career officer who has served in Washington, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Tokyo and Stockholm. Between 1944 and 1949 he was in the Turkish Foreign Office. I knew him well in Ankara and his arrival with his charming wife (the daughter of a former Turkish Ambassador to London) has been one of the brighter spots of the year. We frequently exchange impressions and enjoy one another's confidence. He is highly intelligent, quite Western in outlook and tastes, and both speak excellent English. Madame Esin paints. (Written in 1950.)

United States

Mr. Monnett B. Davis, ambassador (26th February, 1951).

Being the only ambassador accredited to Israel, Mr. Davis is automatically *doyen*. He is in his middle 50's and a career diplomat with wide experience, mainly at Latin-American and Far Eastern posts. Immediately before coming here he was ambassador to Panama.

Mr. Davis had a difficult task in following the ardently Zionist Dr. McDonald. Unfortunately, he has so far been handicapped by indifferent health

and housing difficulties, and he has lacked an experienced staff. His approach is conscientious and objective and from this point of view the change is welcome. So far my Western colleagues and I have been disappointed at his apparent disinclination to develop relations with us though when I take the initiative I find him very ready to talk and to express a desire for co-operation. But so far it has been entirely one-way traffic. He is apt to be ponderous and somewhat long-winded. Mrs Davis also seems to hold herself aloof from us all and none of us has yet succeeded in finding with her a fertile common subject for conversation.

Yugoslavia

Dr. Dusan Bratic, minister (30th April, 1951).

Dr. Bratic was born in 1898 and practised law until he joined the Yugoslav Agrarian party before the war. He was in a German concentration camp from 1941-45 and was Minister of Justice for the Republic of Serbia from 1946 until February, 1948, when he was appointed Minister to Copenhagen and Stockholm.

Both Dr. Bratic and his homely wife speak German and he is also able to get along in French. We have only just exchanged visits but he is obviously all out to be friendly.